TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

INTERIOR PARTS OF AMERICA

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

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THIS IS NUMBER 209.

Explanation
denotes the Marches of the Army during the Campaign, after taking Ticonderoga
denotes the March of the Army after the Convention at Saratoga, to Charlottesville in Virginia.
the March of the Army from Charlottesville to Lancaster
the March of the Officers, when seperated from the private Soldiers at Lancaster, to New York
the extent of Parole (in Virginia) to the British Officers.
the extent of Parole to the German Officers.
CANADA
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
LAKE CHAMPLAIN
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VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
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belonging to Massachusets Bay
MASSACHUSETS BAY
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Ohio R.
Roanoke R.
Potowmack R.
Rapahannock R.
York R.
James R.
British Statute Miles
MAP for the INTERIOR TRAVELS through AMERICA, delineating the March of the ARMY.

TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

INTERIOR PARTS

OF

AMERICA

BY

THOMAS ANBUREY

LIEUTENANT IN THE ARMY OF GENERAL BURGOYNE

WITH A FOREWORD BY

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM HARDING CARTER

VOLUME I

BOSTON AND NEW YORK

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

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1923

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FOREWORD

SEVERAL years ago while delving in Virginia history, I found in the Library of Congress "Travels through the Interior Parts of America. By an Officer." Upon examining the work I was amazed to find it embraced in a series of letters an intimate and detailed account of Burgoyne's expedition, including the experiences of the captured British and Hessian soldiers during their march to Boston, and thence to Charlottesville, Virginia, where they were held as prisoners of war until the close of hostilities. The author, Lieutenant Thomas Anburey, recorded his observations of Canadians, Indians, and Americans in turn, and his impressions make most interesting reading nearly a century and a half later.

Considering that Lieutenant Anburey had been trained for the Army, it is remarkable how cleverly he appraised America, its forests, lands, animals, game, fruits, and foods, its roads, or lack of roads, and the qualities and habits of its people. His pen has preserved for us, in fascinating detail, the personal observations and incidents of the writer's travels on foot for more than a thousand miles from Montreal to Virginia.

Lieutenant Anburey's book first appeared in England in 1789. A French translation was pub-

lished in France in 1790, and republished in 1792 and in 1793 with very definite reference to the disaster incident to paper-money issues. A German translation was published in Berlin in 1792. In those days it was regarded as a mine of current information. Now, after lying dormant for considerably more than a century, it has been rediscovered, as it were, and presents us with a vivid picture of America in Revolutionary days. The republication of Lieutenant Anburey's letters should be welcomed by all students of early American history.

WILLIAM HARDING CARTER,
Major-General United States Army.

TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

INTERIOR PARTS OF AMERICA

IN A

SERIES OF LETTERS

BY AN OFFICER

IN TWO VOLUMES

Τί οὖν, ἄν τις εἴποι, ταῦτα λέγεις ἡμῖν νυν;
Ἵνα γνῶτε, καὶ αἴσθησθε αμφότερα.

DEMOSTH. OLYNTH.

VOLUME I

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE

EARL OF HARRINGTON,

VISCOUNT PETERSHAM,

AND

COLONEL OF THE TWENTY-NINTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.

MY LORD,

HAVING had the honor to serve under your Lordship, it was my fortune, in common with all who were in the same situation, to become attached to your Lordship by personal obligations; and it is a consequence which I hope will be thought equally natural, that I should take this occasion to acknowledge them.

In laying before the Public uncommon scenes of difficulty, danger and distress, I might be further tempted, had I talents for the undertaking, to particularize the unremitting fortitude, which, in several of the most trying instances, distinguished your Lordship's conduct: but examples of bravery, though none can be more conspicuous than those your Lordship shewed, abound in every class of a British army: more rare though not less worthy of imitation, is the sort of attachment your Lordship has always shewn to your corps.

It has been your praise, my Lord, when out of the field, to forego the pleasures which high rank, fortune, youth, and accomplishments opened to your view, and to brave the severity of climate, through tedious winters, in mere military fellowship.

In retired quarters, you found the care of your men to be at once the true preparation for your country's service, and a most gratifying enjoyment to your own benevolence: while on their parts, they considered their leader as their best friend and benefactor. Discipline was thus placed upon a basis that mechanical valor can never establish, upon a principle worthy of troops who can think and feel, *confidence* and *gratitude*.

Duly impressed with these and many other of your virtues — many more than you would permit me to enumerate; I have the honor to be

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient,
And most devoted
Humble Servant,
THOMAS ANBUREY.

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Capt. Blake
—— Stiel
—— W. Doyle
Lieut. Leybourne
—— Short
—— Hollings
Ensign Meyrick

General Trapaud, —— Berner's-Street
Col. Anstruther Thompson, — (late of 62 Regt.) Edinburgh
Samuel Toulmin, Esq. —— Walbrook
Mr. James Turner, Jun. —— Milbank
Thomas Trewin, Esq. —— Helstone
John Trevener, Esq. —— ditto
Mr. William Terwin, —— Haymarket
Mr. Templeman, —— Size-Lane
Edward Thornycroft, Esq. —— Chester
Mr. William Truston, —— Brentwood
Mr. John Thomas
Rev. Mr. Hen. Hawkins Tremayne, A. M. Heligan, Cornwall
Mr. Leigh Thorndon,
Thomas Fortune, Esq. —— London
Mr. Thurgood, —— Fenchurch-Street
David Thomas, Esq. — Pay Master in America

U

The Rt. Hon. —— The Earl of Upper Ossory
Mr. Benjamin Uphill, — Mount-Street, Grosvenor-Square
Cornelius Vanderstop, Esq. —— Princes-St. Hanover-Sq.

W

The Rt. Hon. —— The Earl of Westmoreland
The Rt. Hon. —— The Earl of Winchelsea
The Rt. Hon. —— The Earl of Waldegrave
The Rt. Hon. —— The Earl of Warwick
The Rt. Hon. —— Viscount Weymouth
The Rt. Hon. —— Lord Willoughby de Broke
The Rt. Hon. —— Lord Walpole
Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart. — St. James's-Square
Sir George Warren, K.B. —— Grafton-Street
Miss Warburton
General Warde
Capt. Willoe, —— (8 Regt. of Foot)
—— Wiseman, —— (53 Regt. of Foot)
Edward Wilford, Esq. —— Chelsea
—— Williamson, Esq. —— Temple
Richard Whatley, Esq. —— Parliament-Street
Rev. Mr. Whatley, —— ditto
Rev. Mr. Wills, —— Helstone
Mr. John Whitehead, —— Basinghall-Street
Mr. Thomas Wagstaff, —— Highgate
Mr. John Winpenny, —— Bristol
Robert Woodriff, Esq. —— Temple
Mr. Matthew White, —— St. Swithin's-Lane
Woodmason and Page, —— Leadenhall-Street
James Woodmason, Esq. —— Bond-Street

Y

Major William Young

PREFACE

THE following letters were written to gratify private friendship, and would never have been intruded upon the Public, but from the entreaties of some of the most respectable Subscribers to the Work, who flattered the Author, that as they contained much authentic information, relative to America, little known on this side of the Atlantic, they could not fail of being interesting to the Public.

Their style and manner will clearly evince them to be the actual result of a familiar correspondence, and by no means void of those inaccuracies necessarily arising from the rapid effusions of a confessedly inexperienced Writer, which will scarcely be wondered at, by those who consider how widely different are the qualifications necessary to form the Soldier and the Author.

Every thing the Reader may meet with will not appear strictly *nouvelle*; but this is a circumstance unavoidably attending the writer of a tour through a country, which has been already the subject of so much discussion; but there are certainly many new circumstances related, which will serve to point out the true character and manners of the Americans.

The facts came within his own knowledge, or are

supported by some honourable authority; and his motto has ever been,

—— Nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in Malice.

They will strike every man with the greater force, after the evident partiality of a late Author, who has been led to represent the Favorers of Independence as possessed of every amiable qualification, and those who espoused the rights of the Mother Country, as destitute of common feelings, and humanity itself.

The Author, sensible how much those Subscribers, whose generosity has exceeded the limits of the subscription, would be hurt by a particular distinction, cojointly renders them those thanks,

"Which the tried heart that feels alone can give."

TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

INTERIOR PARTS OF AMERICA

TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

INTERIOR PARTS

OF

AMERICA

LETTER I

Cork, August 8th, 1776

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I RECEIVED your letter, dated the 2d instant, and surely nothing can be more flattering than the warm testimony of regard and friendship every line of it speaks. — It was with great reluctance you consented to my going into the army, but a dull inactive life neither suited my circumstances nor my inclination, and an early love of a military one, soon determined my choice. My time and poor abilities cannot be so well employed, as in the service of my King and country.

I have no regrets at quitting England, but the loss I must sustain in your pleasant and improving conversation; and am persuaded you will alleviate as many of those painful reflections as possible, by taking every opportunity of writing to me. —

None shall be omitted, on my part, of assuring you how often I think of you, and the implicit attention I shall ever pay to your commands, in giving you a description of persons, places, and various occurrences — and should I sometimes be too particular on trivial subjects, you must excuse it, and remember the two prevailing motives you assigned for this kind of correspondence — the pleasure you was so obliging to say it would afford you, and the utility you thought it would be of to me, by calling my attention to whatever became in the least worthy of observation.

This is the last you must expect from me on this side the Atlantic, as in a few days we sail, with the care of some recruits for the 47th regiment.

I once more intreat you, my dear friend, to take every opportunity of writing to me, and believe that time and distance can never abate the respect and friendship with which I am,

Yours, &c.

LETTER II

On board the Howe, on the Banks of Newfoundland. } *Sept.* 11*th*, 1776

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IT would be very ungrateful indeed not to embrace the opportunity, by a ship that is bound for England, now lying too for letters, to send you a hasty account of the events that have happened since my departure from Ireland.

You know I had the care of some recruits for the 47th regiment; and as they were composed of that nation, no less famous for their characteristic errors, than their spirit and unbounded hospitality, let me relate a casual occurrence or two, in place of novelty, which cannot be expected, situated as I am, between sky and water.

There were continually some little disputes among these Hibernians. One day, on hearing a more than usual noise upon deck, I went up to enquire the occasion of it, and learnt it was a quarrel between two of them. Upon asking the cause of him who appeared the transgressor, he exclaimed, "Oh! and plaise your Honor, I did nothing to him "at all, at all" — when the other hastily replied, "Oh yes, and plaise your Honor, he said as how he "would take up a stick and blow my brains out." The peculiar manner in which it was vociferated, was so truly comic, that I could not refrain from

laughter, and merely reprimanding them, overlooked the offence.

The weather has been very pleasant, 'till a few days previous to our coming on these Banks, when there ensued a most dreadful storm. The ship was unable to carry the least sail, being left to the fury of the driving tempest, it was impossible for any one to keep the deck, and the helm was lashed hard of weather.

About the third day the storm began to abate, and the evening became almost calm. But there was such a prodigious swell of the sea, that the ship was expected every moment to roll her masts overboard: she had driven so much to the leeward, that although we could not discern land, the yards and rigging were covered with birds, that were blown from it by the storm.

At this time, one of my recruits coming upon deck, not observing any one there, and the sea so tremendous, immediately went below, and cried out to his companions, "Oh! by my soul, honeys, "the sea is very dreadful, and we are all sure to be "drowned, for the ship's a sinking. However, I "have this consolation, that if she goes to the bot-"tom, the Captain must be accountable for us "when we get to Quebec." And his fears operated so powerfully, that he gave a groan, and fainted away.

A few days after this the sea, which before had been so tremendous, and to use the technical phrase, run mountains high, was now become as

calm as a mill-pond. It is customary, on such weather, in a fleet, for one ship to invite the Captains and passengers of others to dinner. The mode of invitation on these occasions, is by hoisting a table-cloth to the ensign-staff.

We hung out this signal, and the Captain of the nearest ship, with an officer, came on board. After dinner, so sudden and strong a breeze sprung up, as to render their return very unsafe, and it was two days before they could venture, when even then they accomplished it with imminent danger.

This is a little anecdote I cannot help wishing to be much noticed, as it might be a caution to young officers and captains of ships, how they make nautical visits, or upon any occasion quit their vessels.

These Banks may be ranked amongst the many surprising and wonderful works of nature, being a mountain formed under water, by the slime that is continually washing away from the Continent. Its extent has never yet been ascertained, but is generally reckoned to be about 160 leagues long, and 90 broad. About the middle of it is a kind of bay, called the Ditch. The depth of water varies considerably, being in some places only five, and in others sixty fathom. The sun is scarcely ever to be discerned, a cold thick fog generally covering the whole atmosphere, which renders it extremely dangerous to a fleet; for it is at times a state of total darkness, where a continual firing of guns, or incessant noise

of the drum, can alone prevent the ships running foul of each other.

The winds around these Banks are generally very impetuous; the constant agitation of the waves, I am informed, is occasioned from the sea being driven by irregular currents, that beat sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, striking with great force against the borders of these Banks, which are every where almost perpendicular, and repel them with equal violence: and yet, on the Banks themselves, a little from the coast, it is as quiet as in a bay, except there happens to be a strong and forced wind coming from a great distance.

When we found we were upon these Banks, which is perceptible without sounding, as the water changes from an azure blue to a white sandy color, we laid too in order to fish for cod, the process of which is no less entertaining than surprizing to Europeans.

After baiting the hooks with the entrails of a fowl, in a few minutes we caught a fish, when the sailors made use of some part of the entrails, as being a better bait, and then drew up the cod as fast as you can possibly imagine; for though we remained there only half an hour, we caught as many as would serve the ship's crew the rest of the voyage.

You may wonder by what means they are certain of having caught a fish, with so many fathom of line out. When it has been a little while in the

water, they gently pull it with the finger and thumb, and if there is a fish, the struggling of it occasions a vibration of the line, which is very perceptible, though so many fathoms deep. They then haul it in, and as soon as the fish comes in view, the water magnifies it to such a size, that it appears almost impossible to get it on board; and indeed it requires some dexterity, for on hauling them out of the water they struggle with such violence, as frequently to work themselves off the hooks, by entangling the line in the rigging, before they can be got up the ship's side.

But those vessels which particularly follow this business, avoid the inconvenience by erecting galleries on the outside, from the main-mast to the stern, and sometimes the whole length of the ship, in which are placed barrels with the tops struck out, and the fishermen get into these to shelter themselves from the weather. Their stay, I imagine, cannot be long, as the method of curing is equally as expeditious as the catching them; for as soon as the cod is caught, they cut out its tongue, and give it to one who immediately strikes off its head, plucks out its liver and entrails, and giving it to another, the bone is drawn out as far as the navel; it is then thrown into the hold of the ship, where it is salted and ranged in piles. The person who salts it is careful to leave sufficient salt between the rows of fish, to prevent them touching each other, and yet not too much, as either excess would spoil the cod.

The right of fishing upon the Great Bank, by the law of nature, ought to have been common to all mankind; but England and France, being the only two powers that had colonies in North America, made no scruple to appropriate to themselves, what Spain certainly had the greatest claim to, as the original discoverers of it; and who, from the number of her monks and priests, as well as her religion, might have pleaded the necessity of keeping. Yet at the conclusion of the last peace, they entirely gave up all pretensions to it: since which time England and France are the only nations that frequent those latitudes, and both have frigates continually cruizing, to prevent the encroachments of other nations.

The produce of this fishery is certainly a most inexhaustible wealth to both countries, and it is no wonder they are so very tenacious of it: yet it is surprizing what a large circuit the ships are obliged to take before their voyage is compleated, and the profits resulting from this fishery returns to either, nearly traversing by water half the globe: for, in the first instance, they sail from their respective ports in Europe to these Banks, from whence they proceed with their cargoes to the Mediterranean and African islands, where they dispose of their fish for the produce of those islands, then go to the West Indies to exchange that cargo, and return home laden with sugars and rum.

It appears a very singular circumstance, that these Banks should abound with cod, and no other

fish; and that the greatest philosophers have never been able to account for it.

The Captain of the ship that is waiting for our letters growing impatient, obliges me to make a hasty conclusion, with wishing you health and happiness, and assuring you that you shall hear from me as soon as I arrive at Quebec. I am,

Yours, &c.

LETTER III

Quebec, Oct. 8th, 1776

DEAR SIR,

AFTER a fatiguing passage of eleven weeks, attended with no little danger, we are safe arrived at Quebec, which before I proceed to give you any description of, it will be more methodical to relate the occurrences that befel us the remainder of our voyage.

I told you in my last, that we had frigates cruizing on the Banks, one of which informed us, that there were several privateers in the river Saint Laurence. Had we been less attentive to them, and more apprehensive of the shoals and sands that river abounds with, rendering its navigation difficult and dangerous, it would have been better for us; for a few days after we had passed Cape Rosier, a favorable wind springing up, the Captain crouded all the sail he possibly could, in order to get the next morning to the isle of Bec, where he might find a pilot, being very uneasy, as he had never been up that river before.

But to our great surprize and astonishment, about one o'clock in the morning, we run right upon a shoal (which is called Mille Vache) with amazing violence.

A ship belonging to the fleet that had gone a head in the day time, and perceived the shoal, (being low water) had immediately brought too, to warn

us of our danger, which they did, by firing signal guns. But the Captain mistaking them for those of a privateer, returned the shot.

The ship beat with great violence, and was every moment expected to go to pieces; but the tide soon turning, she rested upon the ground, and to our great astonishment, at the break of day, we found ourselves so near the shore, that, to use a sea phrase, we could almost chuck a biscuit on it.

Upon the clearing up of a fog, a ship was discerned, which proved to be the same that had fired guns in the night time: she was then about three leagues distant. We immediately fired guns of distress, of which she took no notice, and imagined she had, as too frequently is the case, deserted us, because we were in distress and stood in need of her assistance.

However, we found friends in a quarter we little expected, for a canoe with three men paddled from the shore, one of whom came on board and told us, we were very fortunate to have struck at the time of spring-tides, or there would be no probability of the ship's being got off. He directed us, when the tide was coming in, to carry out the bow anchor the length of the cable, and then made no doubt, but at the full, the ship would float again, and we might warp off.

After having given every proper instruction, he took his leave, requesting, at the same time, that in case we were so unfortunate as not to effect it, we

would come ashore to his house, offering every assistance to save the cargo, and with a sloop of his to take us up the river.

At the return of the tide some men were sent out with the anchor, according to the directions given; at the heighth of it we floated, and to the joyful satisfaction of every one, got clear off, sustaining no other damage than the loss of two anchors: yet such was the Captain's care and anxiety for his owners, that, I am persuaded, he would not have expressed half the concern for the loss of the whole ship's burthen and company, that he did for his anchors: as with Captains of hired transports, the crew and the cargo are but secondary objects.

This is one instance of the numberless accidents that await transports, by which, I am convinced, the service is retarded, and many operations, however critical, which depend on troops and provision, are often frustrated, either by design or negligence. For only figure to yourself what a situation an army of so many thousands as that we have upon the Continent, and those chiefly fed with provisions from the Mother Country, must be in, upon the slightest delay.

It is much to be lamented, therefore, that all transports are not commanded by King's officers, or at least the master made more subject to controul, when under convoy, or naval orders; as it would prevent the inconvenience and hazard that is continually happening to the King's service.

You will suppose it surprizing that this has never

been noticed and remedied by those in power. I should have thought the affair of the powder-ship that went into Boston, would have occasioned a thorough investigation of this iniquitous business.

The Captains of transports in general, are a set of people who have their own interest much more at heart than the welfare of their country; and it is well known that many of them are disaffected to Government, which was the case of the Captain of the ship just alluded to, but where the blame is to be imputed, is not for me to say. As in all probability you may not have heard of this affair, or the real truth of it may not have reached you, I shall relate the matter, as I had it from a Captain of a ship who sailed in the same fleet, whose veracity can be relied on, and from the amazing strange circumstances which attended the loss of that ship, you may form your own opinions.

It seems this vessel was an immense charge, containing 1500 barrels of gunpowder, besides a great quantity of other warlike stores. Several persons well disposed to Government, and who were perfectly acquainted with the Captain's principles, informed those who had the direction of transports at Cork, that this man would, the very first opportunity, leave the convoy and join the Americans, but no attention was paid to the information; upon which they expressed their apprehensions to the Captain of the frigate who was to convoy them out, who promised to take all possible care of that ship

during the voyage: and every one in the fleet thought he was not the man represented, as he kept close under the stern of the frigate.

When the fleet came off Boston harbour, a frigate that was cruizing for the purpose, informed them, that the King's troops had evacuated Boston, and gone to Halifax; and in the fleet's sailing to that place, in one of those fogs that I have already described to you, the Captain of the powder-ship seized the opportunity, left the fleet, and sailed back for Boston, at the mouth of which harbour was stationed a fifty-gun ship, to prevent any vessel from going in, that might have escaped any of the frigates that were cruizing.

Upon the Captain of the transport's being interrogated by the man of war, he acknowledged himself bound for Boston, that he had not heard of the troops evacuating it, and several more excuses; but some doubts and suspicions arising from the man's conversation, and she being found a ship of such an immense treasure, an officer was sent on board her, and as the evening was coming on, lashed her to his main-mast, intending to sail her the next morning for Halifax, under the best convoy he could afford.

But to shew you what a determined villain the Captain of the transport was, in the night time, he confined the Lieutenant, who was sent on board, cut away from the man of war, and under cover of the night, made all possible expedition to get into Boston.

The tide would not answer his purpose that time,

and the man of war could not come up to her, for want of a sufficient depth of water. The Captain manned his pinnace, and sent another Lieutenant on board her. Upon the officer's attempting it, the Captain struck a harpoon into his skull; he fell into the boat, and the rest finding a great resistance, and that they were likely to be overpowered, rowed back again.

The tide now turned, and he got the ship safe under the cannon of the Americans, before a greater force could be dispatched to retake possession of her.

The loss on our side was great indeed, but the advantage to the Americans was tenfold, as they were in the utmost distress for those materials, and which event may in some measure procrastinate this unfortunate war.

Two days after our late accident, we arrived off the isle of Condre, where we got a pilot, and three days after anchored safe in the bason of this city.

Fearful of being too late to send this by a ship that is just sailing for England, there is only time to assure you, that I shall embrace every opportunity of convincing you, with how much sincerity and friendship I am,

Yours, &c.

LETTER IV

Quebec, October 15th, 1776

MY DEAR FRIEND,

BEFORE you have any account of this city and its environs, I shall describe to you the river Saint Laurence, which, upon their first sailing up it, is the astonishment and admiration of every European. In forming an idea of a river, people in general are apt to judge by comparison: those who have made the tour of Europe, instantly call to mind the Rhine and the Danube; those who have not, the Thames. What will you say, when you are informed that these, though very noble and beautiful, are but mere rivulets, when put in competition with that of Saint Laurence.

This river issues from lake Ontario, taking its course north-east, washing Montreal, where it receives the Outtuais, forming many fertile islands, and a lake which is called St. Pierre. It continues the same course, and meets the tide 400 miles from the sea, where it is navigable for large vessels. After receiving in its progress innumerable streams, this great river falls into the ocean at Cape Rosier; it is there 90 miles broad, where the cold in general is severe, and the sea rather boisterous. In its progress it forms variety of bays, harbours and islands, many of the latter being extremely fruitful and pleasant.

The river Saint Laurence has ever been looked

upon as a good defence to this province, for in the neighbourhood of Quebec, it abounds with hidden rocks, with strong currents in many places, which force the ships to make various windings. From the time that Quebec was besieged by Sir William Phipps, in the year 1690, who was obliged to retire with a great loss of shipping, this river was very little known to the English till the year 1759, when Sir Charles Saunders, with a fleet of 50 English men of war, and near 300 sail of transports, arrived off Quebec, without the loss of a single ship, which clearly proves those dangers were not so great as had been represented. Since that time it has been better known; and though we have not at present at this place so many men of war, yet there are near as many transports, notwithstanding the navigation up this river from the sea is rendered very dangerous, by the strength of the current and the number of sand-banks, which frequently arise in places where they never appeared before; the fatal consequences of which several vessels have experienced this war.

There are abundance of porpoises in the river St. Laurence, which are mostly white, and when they rise to the surface of the water, have the appearance of an hog swimming. At night, if I may be allowed the expression, without being accused of an Iricism, they cause most beautiful *fire* works in the water: for being in such abundance, and darting with amazing velocity, a continued stream of light glides through the water, and as shoals of

them frequently cross each other, the luminous appearance is so picturesque, that no description can reach it.

On our entering the river St. Laurence, we saw, off the island of Anticosti, a great number of seals, one of which we caught. This animal is generally ranked amongst the class of fish, although produced on land, and living more there than in water. Its head resembles that of a mastiff, it has four paws which are very short, especially the hinder ones, serving rather to crawl, than to walk upon, and resembling fins; but the fore feet have claws; the skin is exceeding hard and covered with short hair; they are first white, but as they grow up turn to sandy or black, and some of them are of three different colours.

There are two sorts, the larger weighing near two thousand pounds, and have a sharper snout than the others. I have been told that the Indians have the art of taming these creatures, so as to make them follow like a dog.

I am led to imagine they couple and bring forth their young on the rocks, from this reason, wherein the powerful instinct of nature shewed itself very predominantly: one day, several large ones that had got their young on their backs, dropt them now and then into the water and took them up again, which no doubt, as being brought forth upon land, was to teach them to swim; it is not very surprizing, when it is considered this animal is amphibious: but the mode is exactly the same, only chang-

ing the element, with that of the feathered creation, whose little ones flutter from spray to spray, before they venture to fly abroad. The eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter boisterous winds.

These animals are caught on the coast of Labrador. The Canadians go to this frozen and almost uninhabitable coast, in the middle of October, and remain there till June; their mode of catching them is by placing nets between the continent and a few small islands, where coming in shoals from the east, in attempting to pass these straights, they are caught; they then convey them to land, where they remain frozen till the month of May; the oil is then extracted from them, and it is said that seven or eight of these animals will yield a hogshead. The use of its skin is so generally known, it needs no description; its flesh is allowed to be very good, but if you had partaken of it, as I have done, you would coincide with me in opinion, that it turns to better account when converted into blubber.

The tide goes a league beyond Trois Rivieres, which is thirty leagues higher up the river. The difference of the tide at this place is generally between forty-five and forty-eight feet, but at the new and full moon, from fifty-four to fifty-seven, which is very considerable.

The river is three quarters of a mile broad here, and as the sea water, though it does not come up immediately to the town, renders it somewhat brackish, the inhabitants make use of it only for

culinary purposes, having spring water for their beverage.

In sailing up the river St. Laurence, the first plantations you meet with are about fifty leagues on the south, and twenty on the north side of the river, below Quebec: they are but thinly scattered, and their produce very indifferent. The fertile fields commence near the capital, which I am informed grow better, the nearer you advance to Montreal.

About half way up the river, we came to the *Isles aux Oiseaux*, and passed them about the distance of a cannon shot; they are two rocks that rise up in a conical form, about 60 feet above the surface of the water, the largest of which appeared to be about two or three hundred feet in circumference; they are very near one another, and there does not appear a sufficient depth of water between them for a small shallop. It is difficult to say what color these are of, as both surface and banks are entirely covered with the dung of the birds that resort thither; however, there were discernable in places some veins of a reddish cast.

One of the mates of the ship said he had been on them, and had loaded a small shallop with eggs, which were of different sorts, and that the stench arising from the dung was almost insupportable. Besides the sea-gulls, and other fowls from the neighbouring lands, there is found a species that cannot fly. It appears to me wonderful, in so prodigious a multitude of nests, how every one finds its

own. At my request, the Captain of the ship fired a cannon shot, which spread the alarm over all this feathered commonwealth, when there arose over the two islands a thick cloud of fowl, at least two or three leagues in circuit.

One material circumstance I forgot to mention to you, happened in our voyage to this place. In the middle of August, after we had been incommoded for several days with excessive heats, one morning, soon after we got up, we felt such an intense cold, that both the Captain and myself were obliged to put on our great coats. We could by no means imagine the cause of this alteration, the weather being extremely fine, and particularly as the wind did not blow from the north. But on the third morning, just before day-break, a sailor called out with all his might, "luff, luff," which the man at the helm had scarcely done, when an enormous piece of ice passed along-side of the vessel, which infallibly must have dashed her to pieces, had she struck against it. At day-break we saw it, when it appeared to be about six times as large as our ship, and twice the heighth of its masts. You well know that only one third of ice, while swimming, appears above water, and when that is considered, I do not wonder that the ignorant should not readily assent to the relations given by travellers, of these frozen productions of nature.

Having already swelled this letter beyond its intended limits, and wishing to avoid, as much as

possible, being too diffuse on trivial subjects, I shall conclude it with my best wishes for your welfare and happiness, assuring you that I am, with friendship and esteem,

Yours, &c.

LETTER V

Quebec, Oct. 24th, 1776

DEAR SIR,

AGREEABLE to my promise in a former letter, I shall now proceed in the description of the river St. Laurence, with some occurrences which befel us, previous to our arrival at Quebec.

One of the finest bays to be met with in going up the river, is that of St. Paul, and as we were under the necessity of anchoring opposite to it, till the return of tide, I prevailed on the Captain to go on shore.

Upon our landing, the Priest of the parish came and invited us to his house, treating us with much hospitality. He was a man rather advanced in years, a native of France, and possessed of great learning; he had been recommended by the French Court to the Bishop of Quebec, while this province was under their government, and, as I am afraid is the case with too many well deserving characters, was poorly rewarded, by being made Priest of this small parish, for some essential services he had rendered the French, which, however, has many privileges annexed to it.

From the great veneration and respect that was shewn him, one would naturally conclude he was much beloved by his parishioners, and his conversation turned upon making them happy, by instructing them both in religious and moral duties,

encouraging industry, and divesting them of those innate savage dispositions, which, he observed, the lower sort of Canadians are but too prone to.

It was impossible to say which should be most admired, his smile of welcome, the neatness of the repast, or the hilarity of his conversation; all of which gave me the greater pleasure, when put in contrast with the other French Priests I have met with, who are austere and contracted, and so disgusting, that rather than sit down with them, I would eat hay with my horse.

This bay is about eighteen leagues below Quebec, containing only this small parish, which is some distance from the shore of the bay, on a low plain, formed by the river. It is surrounded with exceeding high mountains on every side, excepting one large gap, which runs parallel to the river. The farms are at some distance from each other, and the church is reckoned one of the most ancient in Canada, which seems confirmed by its bad architecture, and the want of ornaments; the walls are formed of pieces of timber, erected at two feet distance, which support the roof, and between these timbers the space is filled up with a kind of lime-slate. The church has no steeple, its roof is flat, and above this roof a bell is fixed in the open air. Most of the country around this bay belongs to the Priest, who lets it to the farmers.

The inhabitants chiefly live by agriculture, and the profits arising from their commerce in tar, which they extract from the red pine, by making

an incision into the tree in the spring of the year, when the sap is rising, and before the tree has stopped running, it will produce several gallons of turpentine, which they easily manufacture into tar.

It may be conjectured, that the country situated upon the bay of this river being low, it was originally part of the bottom of the river, and was formed either by the decrease of water, or increase of earth, carried from the brooks, or thrown on it by storms, as a great part of the plants that grow here are marine. But in order fully to inform myself whether it was really as I apprehended, I enquired of several of the inhabitants, if ever they had found any shells in digging, who answered, that they had never met with any thing but different kinds of earth and sand.

There is one thing very remarkable, of which we had a proof: the wind is generally different in the bay to what it is in the river, for upon sailing into the bay we had as favourable a wind as could blow, but in the moment of entrance, it was directly the reverse, which is thus accounted for: the bay being surrounded on all sides, except one, with high mountains, and covered with tall woods, when the wind comes from the river, it strikes against some of these mountains, where it is repelled, and consequently takes an opposite direction.

The people who inhabit this bay, as likewise those settled lower down the river, seem very poor; they have the necessaries of life in abundance, but debar themselves of the comforts that should arise

from them, living chiefly upon bread and milk, and carrying their other provisions, such as butter, cheese, flesh, poultry, eggs, &c. to market, where having disposed of them, they purchase cloaths, brandy, and dresses for the women. Yet notwithstanding their *pauvre* manner of living, they are always chearful and in high spirits.

Our object on going on shore was not so much to gratify our curiosity, as to procure some vegetables; and as the Captain of the ship could not speak a word of French, as indifferent a Frenchman as you know me to be, I was obliged to be the interpreter on this occasion. I however made the inhabitants understand me very well, till I asked for some potatoes, by the usual school term of *pommes de terre*, and by which I understand they are called in France; yet, notwithstanding the Canadians are allowed to speak as pure French as at Paris, I could not make them comprehend what it was I wanted, the man continually saying, *Monsieur, je suis bien faché de ne pouvoir comprendre ce que vous souhaitez*; at the same time expressing great uneasiness, as I repeatedly assured him, *que j'etois bien sur qu'il en avoit*, which seemed to vex him still more. However, in walking over his plantation, I happened to see a parcel in the corner of a shed; pointing to them I said, *Voila ce que je demande*, upon which, with great joy in his countenance, he exclaimed, *Oh! Monsieur, ces sont des putat, putat*; adding, with great heartiness, *Qu'il etoit bien aise d'etre en etat de me satisfaire.* Upon

my telling him, in England we called them *pommes de terre*, he added, with a remark which I should not have expected, *Que ce nom leur convenoit mieux que tout autre.* As I paid him very liberally for the vegetables we had of him, he said, with great expression of gratitude, *Ah! Monsieur, je me souviendrai toujours de vos bontés et des pommes de terre.*

Canada, from the fertility of its soil, and the salubrity of its climate, you would naturally imagine, contributed greatly to its own prosperity; but these, as in most other situations, are counterbalanced by its disadvantages. Canada has only one river for its exports and imports, and even this is so blocked up with ice, as not to be navigable during six months, while heavy fogs render the navigation slow and difficult the remainder of the year. And although the produce of Canada is superior to that of the other provinces, still the latter, not having similar impediments to encounter, will always have a decided advantage over this, in the convenience of almost uninterrupted navigation.

The farm houses are mostly built of timber, consisting of three or four rooms, and in one they have an iron stove, which is rendered so hot, as to communicate sufficient warmth to the rest. The roofs are covered with boards, and the crevices and chinks of the timbers are filled with clay, and their out buildings are thatched with straw.

Below the bay of Gaspey there is an island, called *Isle Percée*; on your approach to it, it has the ap-

pearance of the fragment of an old wall, being a steep rock of about thirty fathoms in length, ten in heighth, and four in breadth, which the pilot told us was reported formerly to have joined *Mont Joli*, which stands opposite to it upon the Continent. This rock has in the center of it an opening, in the form of an arch (through which a small schooner might pass in full sail); from which circumstance, you will easily imagine, it derives its name of *Isle Percée*.

The last object that attracts your attention before you enter the harbour of Quebec, is the isle of Orleans, a most beautiful large island, situated in the middle of the river St. Laurence. It is seven leagues and a half long, and two broad, in the widest part, very high, with shores extremely steep and woody, though in some places there is a gradual descent to the river, and where that is the case, it is entirely free from woods, and upon these spots there are farm houses close to the shore.

The isle itself is well cultivated, and the eye is continually amused with large stone houses, corn fields, meadows, pastures and woods, with the addition of several good stone churches, some of which stand so close to the river, and it being Sunday when we passed the island, that we heard them at mass.

The river St. Laurence, till you come to this island, is mostly four or five leagues in breadth, but after you pass it, suddenly narrows, so as to be no more than a mile broad at Quebec, and from which

circumstance this city derives its name, from the Indian word Quebeio, or Quebec, which signifies a strait or narrowing.

Shortly after we had passed this island, and turned Point Levy, we entered the harbour, which has the appearance of a large bay, for Point Levy stretches itself out towards the Isle of Orleans, so as to hide the south channel; and that island projects so as to conceal the north.

On entrance, you are struck with the grandeur and confusion and variety of objects that present themselves: fronting is the city; on the right is the beautiful fall of Montmorency, and a view up the river St. Charles; on the left there is an extensive view up the river St. Laurence, and over the falls of Montmorency; a delightful prospect of several leagues round the country, interspersed with the villages of Beauport, Charlebourg, &c. a particular account of which I shall give you in my next.

I am, yours, &c.

LETTER VI

Quebec, October 27th, 1776

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN my description of this province, you must not expect a tiresome detail of distances, or a romantic description of the country, but a few general observations, as I shall pass through the different parts of it, which are deserving notice.

This city, the capital of Canada, from the singularity of its situation, boasts of having that which no other city in the known world possesses, a fresh water harbour, an hundred and twenty leagues from the sea, capable of containing an hundred ships of the line; it is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on the declivity of a peninsula, formed by the rivers St. Laurence and St. Charles, and commands a prospect over extensive fields, which appears rich, lively and beautiful.

This city suffered so much during the long siege, last winter, that it will by no means answer the beautiful description given by that elegant writer Mrs. Brookes, in her Emily Montague, for many houses were destroyed for fuel, others to prevent harbouring the enemy, and shot and shells continually defacing and burning the rest, you must easily imagine, greatly contribute to destroy all ideas of regularity.

The city is divided into two towns, distinguished

by the *upper* and the *lower*, which, during the siege, were separated by a strong stockade, which proved extremely fortunate for us, as the enemy got into the lower town, but not being able to keep possession, they set it on fire, and nearly destroyed the whole of it.

There are two communications from the lower to the upper town, the one for carriages, by a serpentine road up a very steep ascent, and the other for foot passengers, up a flight of steps cut out of the rock.

The carriage road to the upper town, as well as the streets in general, are almost impassable for either man or beast, never having been paved since the siege, when the pavement was entirely torn up, that the shells might bury themselves in the ground before they burst, whereby they were rendered less dangerous.

The distresses of the inhabitants in a besieged town, at all times are very great; but here they were rendered particularly so, from the extreme severity of the weather, being deprived of fuel, and compelled to reside in their cellars, as the only place that could afford them the least shelter.

The Governor's house stands upon an high eminence, and being bomb-proof, the family thought themselves in perfect security: from its elevation too, it was imagined to be out of the reach of cannon shot. One evening, however, they were rather unpleasantly convinced of their error, by a shot passing through an adjoining room to that in which

they were playing at cards; this threw them into no little confusion, and obliged them to retire to that part of the house in which the other inhabitants were compelled to reside.

You may remember, some months before my departure from England, that Mr. W——,who is a *bon vivant*, jocularly remarked, if he were confined to any single room, it should be the cellar; he was then at the Governor's, enjoying his favourite wish, happy as good company and good wine could make him, the sound of every cannon being the signal for a bumper.

A Major who was here during the siege, expressed his astonishment to me that the place held out so long, having an amazing severity of weather, and numberless other difficulties to encounter; and that its safety was entirely owing to the great exertions of General Carleton, who continually encouraged the inhabitants to action, for they chiefly composed the strength of the garrison.

The suburb of *St. Fauxbourg* is entirely destroyed, but that, as well as the lower town, is now rebuilding, and when compleated, must add greatly to the beauty of the city. There are several quays, and a convenient place for heaving down ships to be repaired, called *Cul de Sac*, where the King's ships lay up during the winter, to preserve them from danger upon the freezing and breaking up of the ice, which is more hazardous than you can imagine; for unless the ships are got into this *Cul de Sac* in proper time, they are very much damaged, and sometimes

totally lost, by the amazing islands of ice that float down the river.

This city is at present badly accommodated as to taverns, there being but one in the upper, and another in the lower town, both of them in the worst state imaginable; for although they provide good dinners, the rest of the accommodations are such as would disgrace the meanest public-house in London. No attendance whatever from servants; no separate apartments, and fifteen or twenty people are obliged to sleep in one room, about a yard apart from each other; usually deprived of natural rest in such vile dormitories, one scarcely feels refreshed the whole day, and let me assure you, since I have been here, I have not enjoyed a good night's repose, from the sonorous music I am surrounded with, arising from that natural and almost universal wind instrument, the nose. The owners of these taverns imagine, if they give good dinners and good wine, they perform wonders. This, however, may be said in their favour, as to accommodation, that this city has been for many months past in a very deranged state, owing to the late siege.

The Canadians of the higher class are very polite and attentive to strangers; a few days since, I was invited to dine with one of the principal merchants, *chez Monsieur Roberdeau*; the dinner was entirely after the French fashion, and displayed with much taste, but such was the perverseness of my English stomach, that it could not relish one of their made

dishes; and although I endeavoured to eat, out of compliment, the master of the house perceived I did not do it with any gusto; he then said, *Ah! Monsieur, vous ne faites qu'arriver dans ce pays; quand vous aurez été avec nous un certain tems, vous aimerez beaucoup notre cuisine. Je suis bien faché que dans ce moment il ne se trouve rien à votre gout, mais quand vous me ferez l'honneur de venir une autrefois chez moi, j'aurai soin d'avoir du* ROAST BEEF *et du* PLUMB PUDDING *que les Anglois aiment tant.* When the desert came, which was before the cloth was removed, I made amends for my not being able to eat at dinner, which the master of the house observing, said, *Ah! Monsieur, ce n'est pas que vous ne vous souciez pas des viandes, mais c'est que vous etes un peu comme les enfans, vous aimez les friandises*; when, fearful lest I should be displeased at his raillery, with a politeness truly French, he filled his glass, and added, *Allons, Monsieur, versez et vive le Roi d'Angleterre.*

Fearful of losing the opportunity that now presents itself of conveying this to England, I have but just time subscribe myself,

Yours, &c.

LETTER VII

Quebec, October 30th, 1776

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE hasty conclusion I was obliged to put to my last, having prevented me from entering so fully into the description of this city as I had intended, I now transmit to you some further particulars relative to its siege, and the religion of its inhabitants.

The causeway by which General Montgomery made his attack, is not more than twenty-four feet wide; on one side is a lofty perpendicular rock, and on the other a steep precipice, without any fence, down to the river; this causeway was defended by two strong barriers, and were I induced to give an opinion, nothing but a desperate effort could justify the attack. The event fatally proved it; for upon the advance of the enemy, the first barrier was abandoned, which, after they had broke down, flushed with success, and the hopes of easily gaining the upper town, they rushed on (with an intrepidity that might expect every thing from their valor) to the second barrier, where two pieces of cannon were concealed, and upon their approach were immediately fired, when great numbers of them were killed and wounded, and in their retreat many fell down the precipice; this defeat greatly contributed to put an end to the siege, the termination of which, had nearly been frustrated, by the

eager impetuosity of the sailors, who were posted with those guns, as they could scarcely be restrained from firing them when the enemy attacked the first barrier, which, if they had done, the slaughter would not have been so great, nor the enemy perhaps have lost their brave Commander. But by the threats of the officers upon duty at that post, the guns were not fired till the enemy were within a few yards of them; and as they advanced abreast, as many as the causeway would admit of, you may easily conceive what havoc there must have been amongst them.

In this daring enterprize fell a man, who lived long enough to establish a reputation, *Quod nec Jovis ira nec ignis, nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas*, as no doubt it will be handed down by the Americans to the latest ages. He died too soon for the support of that unnatural faction, to which, from mistaken principles, he was deeply attached; and being a man worthy of some notice, you shall know the little history I have been able to collect of him.

In the last war he was an officer in our service, and distinguished himself in several instances. At the peace he came over to this country, and married an American lady, where by his conduct and agreeable manners, he was respected as much as if he had been a native; and being, from his marriage and long residence in the country, considered as a man fit to be trusted with a command, he was appointed Brigadier General by the Congress; this

commission he wished to decline, feeling a compunction, as a native of Great Britain, and once in the King's service, to bear arms against his Sovereign. His wavering inclination was unfortunately subdued, by the overpersuasion of a fond wife, whom he loved most affectionately, and the importunate solicitation of his relations and friends. When he had taken a decided part, his conduct fully corresponded with the high opinion that had been formed of his abilities and fidelity. No one who lived so short a time in their employ, could render them more important services, or do their cause more honor.

When he had been induced to sacrifice the happiness he enjoyed in private life, and enter into the service of the Congress, he was then absolved from all views adverse to their party (of which he had been suspected) and considered as a man who took a part in the cause from conscience and principle. In this light he was viewed while living, and spoken of when dead. He had the singular felicity of being equally esteemed by the friends and foes of the party he espoused; the latter acknowledged his worth, though they reprobated the cause in which he fell. To the praise of General Carleton, his remains were, by the General's order, interred with all military honors.

Very shortly after this repulse, an American soldier, in attempting to step out of his *batteaux*, at Wolfe's Cove, fell into the water, and catching hold of a flake of ice that was floating down the

river, he got upon it, and was carried down the stream. As he passed Quebec close to the shore, he was seen by a centinel, who observing a man in distress, called out for help, when numbers flew to his assistance, and found him motionless; by the help of spirituous liquors, with some difficulty they brought him to life for a moment, and just recovering speech enough to tell them, that the city would not long be in our possession, he instantly expired.

A mile from the city is a Convent, that was once possessed of a beautiful garden, but this, as well as their chapel, with the images and other ornaments of their religion, are greatly injured. The enemy, after taking possession of the Convent, converted it into an hospital, and compelled the nuns to attend upon their sick and wounded; and what was still more persecuting to their religion than to their wishes, several of the nuns, after they had abandoned it, proved capable of in some measure making up for the ravages of war, by producing what may in future become the strength and support of their country.

There are several churches in each town, but those in the upper are the most magnificent, and have sustained the least damage. The largest of these churches, and what may be termed the cathedral, has nothing worthy of notice, except a handsome steeple; it is entirely roofed with slate, and is the only building I observed that has this advantage, they being all covered with shingles. It is

much ornamented in the inside; the gallery is bold, light, and well wrought, surrounded with an iron ballustrade, painted and gilt, of curious workmanship; one thing, however, appears very singular, that the pulpit is likewise gilt, and seems to have had more labor bestowed *upon*, than it is ever likely to have *within* it; there are three altars handsomely designed, and some good pictures; it is without any dome or cupola, having only a flat ceiling, very curiously ornamented; it is not as in most Cathedrals, paved with stone, but floored with planks, which makes this church the more supportable in winter; in others you are generally starved to death with cold. After the Romish service is over, on a Sunday, the Governor, with the officers and soldiers of the garrison, and the Protestant inhabitants of the city, resort thither to their worship. This little circumstance I mention to you, as the passing of the Quebec bill made such a noise in England; clearly to shew there is no animosity among the inhabitants, on the score of religion. Where the Canadians, who constitute the principal part of the inhabitants of this province, did not interfere with our religion, I cannot but think it was a very necessary and politic step in Government to tolerate theirs; as at the time the bill passed, it was judged proper to make this sacrifice to them, in order to gain their affections, which seemed to be wavering, whether they should not join the other provinces in rebellion against England.

For my own part, I am led to imagine, from the conversation I have had with several of the principal inhabitants, they never were in the least apprehensive of their religion being suppressed, but that idea was instilled into their minds by some party at home, who, I am sorry to observe, are more dangerous than any enemy we can possibly have abroad.

With all the advantages of the laws of our constitution, the toleration of their religion, and the blessings of liberty, the Canadians are by no means well affected to the English Government, but have a strong propensity to be under the protection of the French; and, I am confident, would assist the Americans, had we not such a powerful force in this province.

The garrison of this city, and a few inhabitants at Montreal, are staunch to the interests of Government; for their fidelity and courage have been proved; upon the commencement of the siege, the General ordered every one out of the city, that he could entertain the least suspicion of, none of whom have since made their appearance.

The army is now returning from the Lakes, and at present the garrison consists of Colonel Maclean's regiment, and the recruits lately arrived from England; the 34th regiment is daily expected, as the army is getting into winter quarters. General Carleton and General Burgoyne are both here, the latter of whom sails for England in a few days.

My friend Captain W——n, who is embarking

for that country where my fondest wishes are placed, will deliver you this: he has just called upon me for my letters. I must therefore conclude. You shall hear from me by the latest ship that sails.

Yours, &c.

LETTER VIII

Quebec, Nov. 4th, 1776

MY DEAR FRIEND,

VISITING two or three of the villages round this city, has enabled me to give you some little description of the country and its inhabitants.

About Charlebourg and Beauport it is rather *champaign*, but becomes more woody towards Lorette. The farm houses interspersed about the country are very numerous, and being generally whitened on the outside, form a neat and picturesque appearance: their houses mostly consist of one floor, very few having a story to them, which gives rise to the idea, that the Canadians will *tell* a story well, though they never *make* one.

You would be pleased to find them extremely neat in their houses, very attentive to their cattle, and careful of the stock on their farms. They are at present employed in cutting and getting in wood for the winter, for themselves and the market, for though it is so early, there has been a severe fall of snow; wood-cutting continues all this month, and in December, when the winter is set in, it is carried into the city upon sleighs over the snow, being a much easier conveyance than with carts, as the roads are so intolerably bad.

The Canadians in general are a swarthy people, and low in stature; their dress consists of a kind of jacket, and when the weather is cold, a blanket

coat, which they fasten round them with a worsted sash. They mostly wear a woollen cap, but in the cold weather a fur one, and have amazing long queues, of which they are exceedingly proud. They are seldom or ever found without a pipe in their mouths, a habit which they acquire in their very infancy. I was much surprized upon going into one of their houses, in which there was a large family, mostly boys, to find, that from the youngest up to the father, they all smoaked; nay, one of three years old had a pipe in his mouth. Their usual mode of living being chiefly milk and vegetables, which, joined to the number of the fast days imposed on them by their religion, renders them a very meagre and slender people.

The women are extremely lively, good-natured and obliging, and very neat in their persons, but have not the least pretension to beauty. The men are far from agreeable, for since they have enjoyed the blessings of an English Government, they are become insolent and overbearing, easily offended, and when they fancy themselves so, their cry is, *Je vais le dire au General Carleton*; and the General is of that good-natured, affable disposition, that he always listens to their complaints, and is continually plagued and tormented with some of the most trivial nature, by these troublesome and tenacious people, for they conceive their Governor is bound to hear them, especially their *Seigneurs*, or Lords of the village; it is a title you have not among you, but I assure you those who possess it here,

fancy themselves of no little importance, and assume more consequence than the first peer in England.

These *Seigneurs* are descendants of those officers and gentlemen who first settled, and had grants in this province, when Canada was only a vast forest; who, not being proper persons to cultivate it themselves, nor possessed of a sufficient fund to pay labourers, let out the grounds at a very slender quit rent; so that with the fines, which were here very small, and what is called the *Droit du Moulin, & Metairie*, a lordship, which consists of two leagues in front, and an unlimited depth, can yield them no great revenue; and there are many planters on their manors, who by their industry have become wealthier than the owner himself; notwithstanding which they stand in great awe of these *Seigneurs*, as they are descended from antient nobility in France, the forefathers of whom were permitted by Louis XIV. to exercise commerce as well by sea as land, without question, interruption, or derogating from their quality and rights; and to you, who so well know the French, I need not say in what manner any one descended from nobility conducts himself, and the *hauteur* he treats every one with.

About three leagues from this city is a nation of Indians, who live at a small village called Indian Lorette: they are quite civilized, have a church, go regularly to mass, and are extremely ingenious in making bead ornaments.

These Indians, who are really Christians, of the

Romish persuasion, have a chapel built nearly on the model, and of the same dimensions as that I have heard you relate you met with in Italy, of *Santa Casa*, and, as in that, have an image of the Virgin, which, upon enquiry, appears to be a copy of that very statue. Whether it was the effect of imagination, devotion, or of any other cause, I cannot say, but upon attending the chapel, I was seized with an inward and sacred terror, of which I can give no account. The solid piety of the Indians, (whom we are taught to believe so naturally ferocious, as no edification, religious or moral, can overcome) added to the gloomy horror of the situation, made a violent impression upon me, which became the more strong, upon observing the fervor and modesty which they displayed in their devotions.

These Indians had a great number of dogs with them, which seem to be the only domestic animal they breed; they are trained up for hunting, and are equal to any hounds; appearing to be all of one species, having upright ears, of dark brindled color, with a long snout, like that of a wolf. None of our English dogs are more remarkable for their fidelity, which is rather to be wondered at, being but very ill fed, and never caressed by them.

As hereafter, and no doubt before my return to England, I shall meet with many Indians of different nations, customs and manners, give me leave to make a few reflections upon these savages, as they are called, and civilized man.

In regard to the former, their origin and antiquity is quite uncertain; the only matter, therefore, to be considered is, whether these untutored nations are more or less happy than us? Whether they, who are in the condition of man left to mere animal instinct, passing their lives in hunting, feeding, producing their species, and reposing themselves, do not pass a life of more felicity than ours, who can enjoy every luxury of life, and vary our indulgences and wants in a thousand ways?

It is in our nature and dispositions, that we must look for the means of happiness. Wherein then does it consist? Present subsistence, and (which I think there can be none so hardened as not to have) a thought of futurity, and the hopes of enjoying every blessing that is attendant on it. The savage never is in want; he lays in no stores, because the earth and waters are reservoirs to supply them. Fish and game are to be had all the year. The savage has no house to secure him from the inclemency of the external air, or commodious fire places, his furs answering all these purposes. His labor is but for his own benefit; he sleeps when he is weary, and is a stranger to restless nights. Little does he experience weariness that arises from unsatisfied desires, or that uneasiness of mind which springs from prejudice or vanity. As far as I can perceive, the Indian is subject to no evils but those inflicted by nature.

In what manner then do we enjoy a greater happiness? Our food may be more wholesome and deli-

cate, our cloaths may be softer, and our habitations secure us better against the weather; but then observe the common people, who are the support of civil society; the number of men who in all states bear the burthen of labor; can they be said to be happy, who, by the luxury and police of their governments, are reduced to a state of servitude? And to what outrages are those in a higher sphere exposed! If you are possessed of any property, you know not how far it may be called your own, but must, in all probability, divide the produce between the lawyer, in teaching you how to preserve it, and the collector, who comes to levy unlimited taxes. If you have no property, how can you be assured of a permanent subsistence? What industry or invention is secure against the vicissitudes of fortune, or the encroachment of others.

In the forests of America, if there is any scarcity in the north, the savages bend their course to the south; but in our civilized states, we are confined within certain limits, where if famine, or war, or pestilence, with all their concomitant horrors, should befal us, all must participate.

It certainly is apparent to every one, that injustice prevails in the partial distribution of fortunes and stations, which must be the effect and the cause of oppression. In vain does custom, prejudice, ignorance, or hard labor, stupify those of the lower class, so as to render them insensible of their degradation; it is not in the power of religion

or morality to hinder them from seeing and feeling the arrangements of policy, in the distribution of what we call good and evil; and, no doubt, you must have often heard a poor man expostulating with heaven, "What have I done, that I should deserve to be born in such an indigent and dependent situation?"

The reason we prefer our condition to that of the savages is, because civilization has rendered us incapable of bearing some natural hardships, which they can endure; and simply that we are attached to some indulgence custom has made necessary to us. As a proof of this assertion, and how a civilized man may habituate himself to the society of savages, and return to this state of nature, let me relate the situation of a Scotchman, who was cast away upon the Island of *Fernandez*, where he lived alone; his only enjoyments consisted in supplying his wants, and to such a pitch had his ideas of happiness raised themselves, that he forgot his country, his language, his name, and even the articulation of words. And after a banishment of four years, from the burthens of social life, he had lost all thought of the past, or anxiety for the future.

One of the first principles we imbibe, one of the first instincts of man, is a consciousness of independence; and no doubt but you must have observed, that the man who possesses a competent subsistence is incomparably happier than the rich man, who is restrained by prejudices and fashions, which incessantly are reminding him of the loss of

his liberty, and which too frequently are the occasion of the rash and fatal act of suicide.

In comparing the state of the savages to that of children, the question may easily be decided, which has been so warmly in debate among the most learned men, "whether the state of nature has the advantage over that of social life?" And you, no doubt, will readily allow, that your state of childhood, notwithstanding the restraint of education, was the happiest period of your life. Nothing surely can more clearly indicate the happiness that children feel, than that habitual chearfulness they demonstrate, when not under the schoolmaster's rod.

After all, a single word may determine this great question. Let us ask the civilized man if he is happy; and the savage whether he is unhappy? If they both answer in the negative, there is an end of the dispute.

How mortifying must this parallel be to civilized nations! And the more painful the reflection, as it awakens the feelings to the cause of their sufferings; no doubt but they will one time or other be convinced from whence it arises — from the confusion of their opinions, from the defects of their political constitutions, and from the capriciousness of their laws, which ever are in continual opposition to the laws of nature. But for fear you think I am growing too sententious, I shall return to my description of this province.

The woods of Canada abound with a large kind

of rabbits, which are of a brown color in the summer, and turn white in the winter, one of the effects of the extreme cold or snow that prevails in this climate; we found likewise vast quantities of partridges, much larger than ours, which the Canadians call pheasants; there are two sorts of them, the spruce and the pine: the meat of the former is very delicious, to those who are fond of the flavor of the spruce. The market at this place is well supplied with all kind of provision, fish and vegetables in abundance.

The place best adapted to repay the labours of the husbandman, are pointed out to him by the spontaneous productions of nature; where the pine, the fir-tree, and the cedar grow solitarily, there he finds only watry and sandy grounds: but wherever the soil is covered with maple, oak, beech, yoke, elm, hickory, and small cherry-trees, there he is certain to meet with a reward for his trouble of clearing away the woods, and may expect a great increase, without the difficulty of manuring.

Being informed that the pacquet sails this afternoon, and having several other letters to write, a further account of this province must be delayed till my next; and in hopes you will pardon my breaking off so abruptly, and leaving you in a state of suspence, I remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER IX

Quebec, November 5th, 1776

MY DEAR FRIEND,

OBLIGED to conclude my last rather hastily, I shall resume my observations on this province, without any apology.

Most of the plantations in Canada are sufficient to supply the wants of their respective owners, and there are few of them that do not yield rye, maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulse and pot-herbs, in great abundance, and those of an excellent quality.

It is capable of furnishing many articles for a trade with the West Indies, which was wholly neglected, whilst this province was under the French Government; but since in our possession, great quantities of flour, planks, and timber, proper for building, have been exported to them: and as there is perhaps no country in the whole world which produces more sorts of wood, or of a better quality, you may easily judge what immense riches may be drawn from thence, it consisting principally of woods.

I know not whether giving you an account of the extensive forests of Canada, will afford you any entertainment; but when I inform you that they have the appearance of being as ancient as the world itself, and were never planted by the hand of

man, I think you will find some amusement in the description of them.

On my first arrival in this country, I was struck with the loftiness of the pines, fir-trees, and cedars, which are of a size perfectly astonishing. There are two sorts of pine, both of them yielding turpentine. The white pines produce, on their upper extremities a kind of mushroom, which the Canadians administer in cases of the dysentery. The red pines contain more turpentine, are heavier, and do not grow to such a thickness; but where they flourish, the land is reckoned very good to raise corn.

There are several species of fir-trees, which rise to a great height, are excellently calculated for masts, as well as every sort of carpenter's work.

There are two sorts of cedars too, the white and red, the former of which grows the thickest, and the odour is in its leaves; whereas, in the latter, the odour is in the wood, and far more agreeable. Of these trees the Canadians make palings, but mostly shingles for covering their houses, from its extreme lightness.

All over Canada are two sorts of oak; the white grows in low swampy grounds, the red in dry sandy lands.

There are three sorts of walnuts; the hard, the soft, and another with a thin bark. The hard sort bear a small nut, very good to eat, but apt to occasion costiveness, the wood of which is only fit to burn. The tender bears a large fruit, with a hard shell, the kernels of which are excellent: the wood

of this tree is singularly curious, being almost incorruptible in water or in the ground, and difficult to consume in the fire: of this wood the Canadians make their coffins. The third sort produces a nut which is exceedingly bitter, but yields an excellent oil, used by the inhabitants for their lamps.

Beech and elm trees are in great abundance; and in the thickest woods are found vast numbers of cherry and plumb-trees.

There are an infinite number of others, but as I am no Botanist, you will pardon my giving an account of what is here in such variety, that persons who have taken the most unremitting pains to discover them, have not been capable of describing half their number, I shall conclude this heavy detail of trees, with that of the maple, which boasts of many excellent qualities.

The maple tree yields in great quantities a liquor which is cool and refreshing, with an agreeable flavor. The Canadians make a sugar of it, a very good pectoral, and used for coughs. There are many trees that yield a liquor they can convert into sugar, but none in such abundance as the maple. You will no doubt be surprized to find, in Canada, what Virgil predicted of the Golden Age, *Et duræ quercus sudabunt roscida mella.*

The stock of the farming part of the inhabitants in this province, consists generally of about a score or two of sheep, ten or twelve cows, and five or six oxen for the plough; the cattle are small but excellent, and the people, since they have been under

the English Government, live in a degree of ease and happiness unknown to the country people in England, and are now improving their farms and enriching themselves very fast. Before the commencement of the war, they used to export vast quantities of wheat and all sorts of grain, to the other provinces and the West India islands; but when under the French Government, they were so oppressed by their *Seigneurs*, that they never raised more grain than would serve themselves and the stock on their farms; whenever they did, it was generally claimed by the *Seigneurs* for the use of Government. The Canadians were at that time a very indolent set of people: now they reap the sweets of their industry, and are quite the reverse.

I went yesterday to view the Fall of Montmorency, which is really beautiful. The breadth of it is not above ten or twelve yards, and its perpendicular height one hundred and twenty feet; by the violent fall of such an immense body of water, there is always a thick fog of vapors, which occasions a continual rain, for some distance round the bottom. Anxious to examine it as minutely as possible, I approached within twelve yards of the Fall, when a sudden gust of wind blew such a thick fog off the spray, that in less than a minute I was as wet as if I had walked half an hour in a heavy shower, which, however, did not prevent my endeavouring to satisfy my curiosity, for I persevered, in hopes of accomplishing my wish, which, like many of our ardent pursuits, did not bring me that recompence

I had flattered myself it would; for having obtained the purport of my intention, instead of the beautiful appearance I had pictured to my imagination, to be discerned between the rock and the immense body of water that was falling from such a prodigious height, I found myself enveloped in a very thick fog of spray, scarcely able to see my hand when extended, and where, in all probability, if I had continued five minutes, and the wind changed, I was in danger of being drowned. The noise occasioned by the fall was so great, that an officer who was with me was obliged to speak as loud as he could, to make me understand any thing he said. It is sometimes heard at Quebec, which is two leagues distant to the southward, and when that is the case, it is the sign of an approaching strong north-east wind.

One thing remarkable is, that this plentiful fall of water, which never dries up, one would imagine, must proceed from some fine river: but it is quite the reverse, it being only a puny stream, which in some places is scarcely sufficient to cover the ankle; it flows, however, constantly, and derives its source from a pleasant lake, twelve leagues distant from the falls.

I have visited the plains of Abraham, to see the remains of the enemy's encampment, and could not help contrasting those who had so lately abandoned that place, with the possessors of it when the brave Wolfe fell! Nor was it possible to suppress a sigh to the memory of that gallant officer, who, at so

early a period in life, had acquired the esteem and admiration of all mankind. While in the very arms of death, he added glory and conquest to the British empire.

Nor could I help lamenting, at the same time, the fate of an officer of considerable merit, though an enemy, the brave Montgomery, who commanded the troops that had so lately abandoned this encampment, and of whom I have already spoken: he possessed all the fire of military ardor, rushed with impatience in the front of every danger, and met his death, "e'en at the cannon's mouth," where he unfortunately fell a sacrifice to mistaken principles, unnatural rebellion, and the ambitious views of a few designing men. — His courage and death would have done honor to a better cause.

The people in this city are making preparations for the winter, and you would think it impossible they could consume the amazing rafts of timber that are already floated down the river; but I am informed they are a very inconsiderable part of what are expected. — It is not in the least surprizing they were obliged to pull down houses for fuel last winter, during the siege.

Europeans must form a terrible idea of the intense cold of this country, from the preparations the Canadians take to guard against it; for the inhabitants are pasting paper round their windows, and every crevice where they imagine the least cold will penetrate.

Instead of fire-places they make use of iron

stoves, which must be extremely unhealthy; a few days since I went into a room when there was a fire in one of them, and had not been there above five minutes, when I was seized with a most intolerable head-ach, which I can only attribute to the sulphureous air that proceeds from these stoves; and, for my own part, imagine they are the occasion of the Canadians having such sallow complexions; but custom, which in some measure overcomes all prejudices, will no doubt reconcile me to them.

The ships are all preparing to sail for England, lest the river should freeze up.

I have been this afternoon upon the ramparts, to see the Apollo frigate drop down, in which General Burgoyne sails for England; who, I am persuaded, has the sincere and ardent wishes of all ranks in the army, for his safety and happy arrival. The General joins to the dignity of office, and strict attention to military discipline, that consideration, humanity, and mildness of manners, which must ever endear him to all who have the happiness to be under his command; for my own part, I shall pray with Shakespear, "that the winds of all the corners may kiss the sails, and make his vessel prosperous."

I remained on the ramparts to take the last look of the Apollo, who, with a steady and favourable breeze, sailed magnificently down the river, and was soon out of sight. You cannot guess how it affected me; shall I confess that more than once I

wished myself on board her: it was such a sight as must awaken the mind to all its natural attachments. But that I may not think too much of country and friends, at this time, I shall hastily conclude myself,

Yours, &c.

LETTER X

Montreal, November 16th, 1776

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AFTER a tedious march of near three weeks, which for a young soldier is a pretty good initiation into the toils of his profession, I am safe arrived at this place.

As we could not march many miles in a day, through the severity of the weather, bad roads, and the shortness of the days, I am enabled to give you some little description of the country between this city and Quebec.

Both sides of the river are very well settled, which affords a pleasing prospect. The farms mostly lie close to the water-side, and at some distance from each other, so that each farmer has his possessions entirely distinct from those of his neighbour's. But had an edict, which was passed in the year 1745, when this province was under the French Government, been observed, it would have been one continued street from Quebec to this place, as it forbade the Canadians from extending their plantations more than an acre and a half in front, and thirty or forty acres in depth; by which means indolent heirs would not have waited for the inheritance of their fathers, as they would have been under the necessity of forming new plantations, and such vast spaces of wood would no longer have separated them from each other.

But whether that indolence they then possessed proceeded from nature, or the rigor of their Government, they seem now to have entirely lost it, and are become more industrious; as I perceived, in many places, they were clearing away the woods to form new plantations.

Most of the farm houses are built of stone, consisting of three or four rooms, which are heated with a stove, nearly upon the same construction as those I described to you. Some of them have orchards annexed, though in general they are without such an accommodation, but all have exceeding good kitchen gardens.

Every three leagues there is a church, with a kind of little village, consisting of the parsonage, the *auberge*, the school for boys and girls, and a few houses belonging to tradesmen, those but few indeed, and so thinly scattered, that it scarcely gives you the idea of a village. Trade is considered by any descendant of the *noblesse* a disgrace, yet there are few inhabitants but what claim some affinity to one *Seigneur* or another, who, though they think it no derogation to plough, sow, and reap upon their plantations, deem it ignominious in the extreme, to be a mechanic or tradesman. Notwithstanding which, I was much surprized to find, that the principal inhabitant in each village, who generally belongs to some *noblesse*, was the post-master, and kept the only *Auberge* in the place; nay, did not think his nobility offended, with providing horses and entertaining travellers, which I remember to

have heard you say is the case in many parts of Italy.

Between each church, or village, there are several crosses put up on the road-side, parallel to the shores of the river, and which are common throughout Canada. They are made of wood, about fifteen or twenty feet high, and proportionably broad: In that side towards the road is a square hole, in which they place some wax images, either of our Saviour on the cross, or of the holy Virgin, with the child in her arms, and before that, a piece of glass to prevent its being injured by the weather. These crosses are ornamented with all the instruments they think the Jews employed in crucifying our Saviour, such as the hammer, tongs, nails, a flask of vinegar, with many more things than one would suppose were really made use of, or even invented; and frequently the figure of a cock is placed at the top, which appeared to me rather singular, as it could have not the least affinity to the crucifixion, and must rather be supposed an allusion to the cock's crowing when St. Peter denied our Saviour.

These crosses, however good the intention of erecting them may be, are continually the causes of great delays in travelling, which to persons not quite so superstitiously disposed as the Canadians, are exceedingly unpleasant in cold weather; for whenever the drivers of the calashes, which are open, and nearly similar to your one horse chaises, come to one of them, they alight, either from their

horses or carriage, fall on their knees, and repeat a long prayer, let the weather be ever so severe.

The usual mode of travelling is in these calashes: in the front of those which travel post, a man sits to drive, and who, let your business be of ever so great importance, will alight at these crosses, and pay his accustomed homage.

One day, on our march, being sent forward to procure quarters, with our friend Captain Grattan, whose pleasantry of manners you are well acquainted with; for expedition we went in a post-calash. The weather was so excessively severe, that with the assistance of fur coverings, we could scarcely keep ourselves warm. Not above a mile had been beguiled, before we came to one of these crosses, when the fellow who drove us stopped; upon asking him why he did so, he replied, *Ce n'est que pour faire une petite prière*; which *petite prière* he was nearly five minutes in repeating, when he mounted his seat. We complained of being almost perished with cold, when he replied, *Allons, allons, je vais me depêcher*, and after taking two or three whiffs of his pipe, whipped up his horses, and made amends for his stopping. We had not gone a mile and a half further, before another cross made its unwelcome appearance: here he must alight, and *faire une autre petite prière*, which, upon our not consenting to, he begged we would let him just stop, *le tems defaire un signe de croix*, which he was not long about. We then jogged on again with great chearfulness, as he drove pretty fast; soon after we

perceived the village to which we were destined for quarters, when again he suddenly stopt, and upon our saying there was no cross there, he immediately cried out, *Mais en voici une la*, which, being at some distance from the road, we had not observed, requesting us to let him halt but a moment: *Il faut que je descende ici*; *c'est mon village*; we told him he should not, and that he must drive into the village as fast as he could. Upon this he growled inwardly, and complained openly, till he came opposite to it, where he stopped again; before he could descend, our friend Grattan laid hold of his long queue, of which I told you they are exceedingly proud, and declared, if he did not immediately drive on, he would instantly cut it off. — This being asserted with some degree of warmth, he thought fit to sacrifice his religion to his vanity, so just crossing himself, muttered a short prayer, and drove us as fast as he could to the end of our journey, *sacrant contre* the English officers; and I do not doubt, if one could form any idea from his countenance, but he sent us both into purgatory with such curses, that all the masses which could be offered would not be able to release us from it, for having treated his religion and his queue with so little ceremony.

Leaving you to make your own reflections on these Canadians and their religion, I remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XI

Montreal, Nov. 20th, 1776

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I SHALL now proceed with my observations, and the remainder of the occurrences which happened in our march from Quebec to this place.

About half way between Quebec and Montreal, is a town called *Trois Rivieres*; it takes its name from three rivers, whose currents join here, and fall into the river St. Laurence. Previous to my giving you any description of this place, permit me to relate a trifling circumstance that occurred, just as we entered the town. About half a mile before we came to it, so sudden and nauseous a scent assailed our olfactory nerves, as nearly to suffocate us, which lasted till we arrived at the outskirts. — Upon enquiry, we found it arose from an animal, which the Canadians call the *Enfant du Diable*, or *bête puante*; a title which it derives from its ill scent, occasioned by discharging his urine whenever he is attacked, and which infects the air for a great distance. Laying aside this quality, it is in other respects a beautiful creature, being about the size of a cat, with a fine shining fur, of a dark grey color, streaks of white glistening from the head to the tail, which is bushy, like that of a fox, and turned up as a squirrel's: this had been pursued by some dogs which the soldiers had with them, across the

road, but when it came near us, its stench was almost insupportable.

These *Enfans du Diable* differ from your *Enfans du Diable*, the London beaux, who have all their prettyisms perhaps, but are *eternally* exhaling their pestiferous odours, fearful, if they reserved them till *pursued*, they would have no opportunity to

"Taint the flying air, and stink in state."

The country is pleasant, and there are several good houses about the town, but they were greatly damaged by the Americans, upon abandoning it, after their defeat this summer, when their army was routed, and several of their Generals, with great numbers of their men, taken prisoners. This place is the winter cantonments of the German troops, who are commanded by General Riedesel; he commands likewise the district between Quebec and Montreal.

This town, by reason of the three rivers, used to be much frequented by the several nations of Indians, and was built with a view of encouraging trade with the northern ones in particular. It had every prospect of being the second city in the province, but the fur trade was soon diverted from this market, and carried entirely to Montreal, it being some leagues nearer to the Indians; and though we have several trading places with them upon the lakes Ontario and Superior, Montreal will always support its consequence, as being the nearest and most convenient place for shipping the furs to Eng-

land. *Trois Rivieres* has now lost all its traffic and is supported chiefly by the travellers passing between the two cities.

There are several churches, and two convents, the nuns of which are reckoned the most ingenious of any in Canada, in all kinds of fancy ornaments, needle work, and curious toys.

During my stay at *Trois Rivieres*, there came down from the *Illinois*, several Indians of that nation, with an interpreter, to acquaint us, that they would be down in the spring, and would take up the hatchet in favor of "*their good Brother who resided beyond the great waters.*" Among the groupe I observed one, who had hanging round his neck the image of the holy Virgin, with our Saviour in her arms, which I thought very singular, as he was of a nation esteemed extremely ferocious in their manner, and whom the French Missionaries could not convert; but upon my enquiring of the interpreter if he knew the reason, he gave me the following account:

In some skirmish, when the *Illinois* were at war with the Canadians, this image had fallen into their hands, amongst other plunder. Sometime afterwards as a Missionary, of which the French had great numbers travelling through the interior parts of Canada, to cultivate friendship, and establish their religion among the Indians; by chance he met this person, and observing the image, was very much astonished; the manner in which he took notice of it, excited the curiosity of the poor savage,

to know what it represented, when the Missionary, who no doubt was pleased to have such an opportunity of displaying his religion, told him, that it represented the mother of his God, and that the child she held in her arms represented God himself, who had made himself man for the salvation of the human species, and explaining to him the mystery of our incarnation, assuring him, that in all dangers the Christians addressed themselves to this holy mother, who seldom failed to extricate them. The Indian listened with the utmost attention to this discourse, and went away.

Being out a hunting, soon after this, just as he had discharged his piece at a deer, one of the *Outagami* Indians, whose nation was at variance with the *Illinois*, and who was lying in ambush, presented his piece at his head. In this situation he recollected what had been told him about the mother of God, and invoked her protection. The *Outagami* endeavoured to discharge his piece, but missed; he cocked a second time, and the same thing happened five times successively. In the interim the *Illinois* had loaded his piece, and presented it to the *Outagami*, who chose rather to surrender than be shot. From that time the *Illinois* would never stir from his village without his safeguard, which he imagines renders him invulnerable. There can remain little doubt but this circumstance was the means of his conversion to Christianity, and the Romish religion: for he has cer-

tainly embraced that persuasion, as I followed him to the great church, where, upon his entrance, after crossing himself with the holy water, he fell upon his knees, and seemed to worship with as much devotion as the most devout of the Canadians. But to return to my description of this place.

The road from Quebec hither is the whole way within sight of the river, being mostly upon its banks, which renders it extremely pleasant to travellers, especially in the summer, as there is a constant breeze.

The river from Quebec to *Trois Rivieres* is very wide, and at that place it forms a very large lake, called *St. Pierre*, where the eye cannot reach across; you can only discern a large body of water, with several islands, which, with the small vessels sailing between them, form a very romantic prospect. The tide comes no farther than this lake, terminating a few leagues beyond *Trois Rivieres*, when you meet with the river again, where it runs extremely rapid, at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour. At its first appearance you can hardly suppose it the same river, for where the tide has effect, it seldom runs more than four miles an hour; it increases in rapidity as you advance to Montreal, and opposite the city it runs almost ten miles an hour, which renders its navigation extremely difficult, as nothing but a very strong and favourable wind, with all the sails full set, can enable vessels to stem the current. What with unfavourable winds and light breezes, ships have been as long in getting up from

Trois Rivieres to Montreal, as they were on their passage from England to Quebec.

The rapidity of the current makes crossing not only disagreeable, but very dangerous, for unless you have a skilful pilot, the current will carry you a league below where you want to land. And yet it is surprizing, how expert the Canadians are with their wooden canoes; but the Indians far exceed them in working theirs, as their canoes are of a much lighter construction. Both being much used in this country, I shall endeavour to describe them, that you may be able to form some idea of what they are.

Those which the Canadians use, are called wooden ones, being hollowed out of the red elm, some of which are so large, as to contain twenty persons.

Those which the Indians use, are made of the bark of the birch tree, and distinguished by the name of birch canoes, the different parts of which they sew together with the inner rind of the bark of the tree, and daub them over with a pitch, or rather a bituminous matter, resembling pitch, to prevent their leaking. They form the ribs from the boughs of the hickory tree, and are constructed of different dimensions, some being only large enough to contain two persons, and others thirty.

These canoes are easily managed by the Indians with their paddles, and with the current go at a prodigious rate, for one single stroke with the paddle will force them twice the length of the canoe against it. It was with one of these birch canoes

that General Carleton, with an Aid-de-Camp, made their escape through the enemy's fleet, when he quitted Montreal, for the purpose of putting Quebec in a better state of defence.

Unwilling to lose the opportunity of sending this by an officer who is going to Quebec, I am obliged to put a period to this letter: and, no doubt, upon the perusal of it, you will easily discover the young traveller, who is diverted with every thing that presents itself to his view. But in hopes that it may afford you half an hour's amusement, I remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XII

Montreal, November 26th, 1776

MY DEAR FRIEND,

BEFORE I describe to you this city, let me give you some account of the island on which it stands, and from whence it derives its name.

This island, which measures ten leagues in length and about four in breadth, is formed by the river St. Laurence, and in the center of it are two large mountains, which are the first you meet with on the north side of St. Laurence, and were called by the first discoverers of this province, *Monts Royaux*, which gave name to the island, afterwards *Mont Royal*, and at last, by a variety of corruptions of the language, *Montreal.*

Of all the adjacent countries, there is no place where the climate is reckoned to be so mild, so pleasant, and the soil so fruitful: with all these natural blessings, is it not surprizing to see it thinly inhabited, and very ill settled, for except two or three miles round the city, the country is mostly woods, interspersed with a few small plantations.

One thing not a little remarkable is, that this island contains a smaller one of about three miles in length, and two and a half in breadth, formed by two inlets of St. Laurence. This little island, which is called the *Isle de Jesus*, is almost cleared from woods, and has a small church and a few houses on it, rendering Montreal extremely pleasant; being so

situated, that you cannot go a great length in any direction, before you come to it; and surely, after travelling through woods and swamps, it affords a most pleasing relief.

The summit of the mountains I have described to you are extremely difficult to gain; but having once accomplished it, the delightful prospect that presents itself, amply compensates for the fatigue and dangers you encounter, being able to view the whole island, and several leagues round it. You can plainly discern the mountains that cross *Lake Champlain*, called the Green Mountains, which are near 60 miles distant. It appears generally a vast forest, there being only three objects to diversify the scene: the view of the city of Montreal, the river St. Laurence, and the mountains of *Chamblée*, which are exceedingly beautiful, and the more remarkable, being in a plain level country, and not having a single hill for several leagues round them; they are considerably loftier than the mountains on this island.

This city forms an oblong square, divided by regular, well formed streets, and the houses in general are well built; there are several churches, but those, as well as many of the houses have felt the effects of this war.

The city is surrounded by a wall and dry ditch, and at one end there is a citadel. These fortifications were raised many years past, as a defence against the Indians, and since the war, great improvements have been made to them; but the city

is so situated, that no works can be raised to enable it to stand a regular siege, having many rising grounds, that command it in more places than one.

When we gained possession of this province, Montreal was nearly as large as Quebec, but since that time it has suffered much by fire; it is greatly to be wondered at, that it has not, one time or other, been totally destroyed: for in the winter, when the inhabitants go to bed, they make great fires in their stoves, and leave them burning all night, by which means they are frequently red hot before morning. Imagine how dangerous they must have been, when their houses were constructed of wood; few of those are now remaining, except in the outskirts of the city, the greatest part of them being built of stone.

The inhabitants here, as well as those of Quebec, having so many times suffered by fire, construct their buildings in such a manner, that they are not only perfectly secure against that element, but even against house-breakers, which being a little singular, you will have no objection to my describing them.

The house consists of one lofty floor, built with stone, and the apartments are divided by such thick walls, that should a fire happen in one of them, it cannot communicate to any other: the top of the house being covered with a strong arch, if the roof which is over it should catch fire, it cannot damage the interior part of the house. At Quebec, that city having been so often besieged, the inhabitants who

are now building at that place, make this arch bomb-proof.

Each apartment has a double door, the inner one of wood, and the outer one of iron, which is only shut when the family retire to rest; the windows have double shutters of the same materials, and they have not only taken this precaution with the doors that lead out of the house, but added an iron one, which is fixed on the inside.

These doors and shutters are made of plate iron, near half an inch thick, which, perhaps, you will imagine, must give the house a very disagreeable appearance, but it is far otherwise, for being mostly painted green, they afford a pleasing contrast to the whiteness of the house.

This is the busy time of the merchants belonging to this place, who are now using all possible expedition in sending home their furs, before the winter sets in. The reason assigned for deferring it till so late in the season, is on account of the traders, some of whom are but just arrived from the upper countries, the merchants generally waiting as long as there is a possibility of their return, and sometimes so long in expectation of them, as to lose their markets entirely.

These traders, in the course of their voyages, are continually encountering hardships and difficulties, and their lives are frequently in imminent danger: — nothing can counterbalance the great perils that await them, but the certainty of acquiring an ample fortune in the course of three or four voyages.

They set out in the spring of the year, in parties of about twenty or thirty persons, with perhaps eight or ten large birch canoes; they have no fixed course to take, but steer that where it is imagined they can meet with a tribe of Indians; keeping mostly upon the upper lakes, sometimes carrying their goods and canoes across rapids, which are parts of the river greatly quickened by the descents, and over land to a river, up which they will proceed many leagues. If they do not meet with any Indians, it obliges them to return again to the lake, and proceed westward.

The goods they take with them to barter for skins, consist chiefly of brandy, tobacco, a sort of duffil blanket, guns, powder and balls, kettles, hatchets and tomahawks, as likewise looking-glasses, vermillion and various other paints; and according to any article that an Indian has a desire or an use for, he will give ten times its value in skins. They are most eager after powder, ball, paint, brandy and tobacco.

These traders traverse vast lakes and rivers with incredible industry and patience, carrying their goods among nations in the remotest parts of America. They are generally absent from their families about three years, before their departure make a will, and settle all their affairs, many of them, with their whole party, having been put to death by the Indians, either for the stores they carry with them, or to revenge the death of some of their nation, who has been killed by the bursting of a gun that has been sold to them, which is frequently the case,

they being by no means proof. The Indians do not wait for those traders who sold the gun, but take their revenge upon the first they meet with. Here I must observe to you, that the guns which are sold to the Indians are fitted up in a very neat manner, to attract the notice of these poor creatures, and frequently, after having been fired five or six times, they burst, and the unfortunate purchaser is either killed, or loses an hand or an arm. These traders are certainly the best judges, but I cannot help thinking it both cruel and impolitic.

It having been hinted, that a reward would be given to him who should discover a north-west passage, or whether the Continent joins to India, two suppositions much credited by the Europeans in general, several of the traders have endeavoured to find which is the true one: as there is every year some fresh discovery made, there remains but little doubt that in some future time it will be effected. I believe the farthest that any of them have yet reached was a Mr. Henry, who is reported to have travelled for ten days upon a large plain, on which grew only a rank-grass, nearly as high as a man's breast, and on this plain he frequently met with immense droves of buffaloes, and observed the tracks of several others; that on the eleventh day he came to a vast river, which stopped his progress, as he did not chuse to venture crossing in a canoe; that the water was quite salt, and run extremely rapid, from which circumstance he concluded there must be a north-west passage.

Whether it is so or not, it is to be hoped that when this unhappy contest is ended, Government may think it a matter worthy their consideration, and fit out an expedition for ascertaining it, as the discovery would not only be of great importance to England, but to all the world. As we have already made such great and wonderful discoveries in the South Seas, surely this will be deemed of sufficient importance to justify the expence of fitting out proper persons from England to investigate the fact.

If after so many fruitless attempts, some one should appear, whose firm mind will rise superior to every sense of danger, encountering variety of hardships, and whose patience is not exhausted by their duration; if such a one, animated with a hope of glory, which alone teaches men to disregard life, rendering them equal to the greatest undertakings; who, being well informed, so as to understand what he sees, and of veracity enough to relate only what he has seen — if such a man should appear, and no doubt there are many who possess these excellent and extraordinary qualifications, his researches will perhaps be crowned with better success. But, if after such an undertaking, this celebrated passage should still remain concealed, it must be concluded, either that it doth not exist, or is not given to man to discover.

I add nothing more to this letter, fearful of losing its conveyance, therefore remain

Yours, &c.

LETTER XIII

Montreal, Nov. 30th, 1776

MY DEAR FRIEND,

A FEW days ago, I made a visit to our friend Shlagell of the 21st regiment, at St. John's, where he is stationed for the winter. I cannot but say I was much pleased with the place, it having all the appearance of a dock-yard, and of being equally as busy. The fleet that was upon the Lake is repairing, as likewise several of the vessels that we took from the Americans; they are laid up in docks, to preserve them from the inclemencies of the winter, and by the ensuing spring, what with the ships we had before, and those we have since taken from the Americans, we shall have a fleet far superior to any they can possibly bring on the Lakes.

There are two schooners here, the *Carleton* and *Maria*, which were built in England upon a construction to take into pieces, in order to be transported across a carrying-place of about two miles. After their sailing from England to the mouth of the rapids, which prevented their proceeding up to St. John's, rather than lose the time of taking them to pieces, and re-constructing them, Lieutenant Schank, of the navy, an ingenious officer, informed General Carleton, that they might be conveyed upon a cradle over land to St. John's, entire, provided there was a good road made for them. The General acquiesced in this gentleman's proposal,

and the whole army were employed in making a road. One of the vessels was near half a mile on it, by means of cables fixed to windlasses every twenty yards; but the General perceiving this mode of conveyance would take up more time than the other, gave orders to have the schooners taken to pieces and rebuilt, which was accomplished in as short a space of time as they had been creeping that small distance upon land.

Our naval force being far inferior to what the Americans had this summer upon the Lakes, it was deemed necessary to encrease it. The ship-wrights were instantly employed to build a frigate, and the army in cutting the timber for it, which is now as complete a vessel as any in the King's service. I am afraid you will think I usurp the privilege of a traveller, when I tell you that this frigate was constructed in so short a time, that in eight and twenty days after her keel was laid she was in action; and what was still more wonderful, there were only sixteen ship-wrights to build her, one of whom was, on the third day, so badly wounded with an adze, as to be of little service.

You may easily imagine how great must have been the astonishment of the Americans when she came upon the Lakes, knowing we had no such ship when they abandoned St. John's. Notwithstanding this, they fought their fleet bravely, and our new-built vessel, by the falling of the wind, bore but a partial part of the engagement, the stress laying upon the *Carleton* and *Maria* schooners,

which were both much shattered. On board the latter was General Carleton, who had a very narrow escape, a cannon shot passing close by him as he was giving directions to an officer, and which the General with that coolness and intrepidity that so much distinguishes his character, took no notice of, but turning round, gave his orders with as much composure as if he had been in the most perfect state of security.

This place, which is called the key to Canada, when the works are compleated, will be of great strength; there are temporary barracks at present, both for soldiers and artificers. The old barracks, as well as the fort the Americans destroyed when they abandoned the place, were formerly quite surrounded with woods, but are now clear for some distance round.

In order that you may form a just idea of this important place, I have enclosed you a drawing of it, representing the two redoubts, with the rope-walk, the ship on the stocks, and the other vessels at anchor near the fort, and which I have taken from the block-house erected on the opposite side of the river Sorell.

From this place I went to the *Isle au Noix*, which is the advanced post of the army, on which the 20th regiment is stationed. This island is about a mile and a half in length, and three quarters of a mile in breadth; it was entirely covered with wood, but at present greatly cleared, and before the winter is over, we imagine it will be entirely so. Although

so late in the year, and in this severe climate, the regiment stationed there is encamped, and likely to continue so till after Christmas, as it will be that time before the block-houses intended for them are finished.

Block-houses not being generally known in England, shall be my apology for giving you a description of them. They are constructed of timbers, placed one on the other, of a sufficient thickness to resist a musquet shot, and large enough to contain from 100 to 120 men; there are two apartments in them, one above the other, in the upper of which is a division for the officers. In both the lower and upper apartments are two pieces of cannon and four port-holes, for the purpose of pointing these cannon on any side of the block-house on which it may be attacked; and in case an enemy should in the night endeavour to set fire to the house, there are loop-holes, through which the troops on the inside can level their pieces and fire upon the assailants. They are reckoned to be a very strong defence, as it has been known that a small party of men, in one of these block-houses, have repulsed treble their own number. But that you may more fully comprehend the construction of these unusual fortifications, I have inclosed a drawing and section of one of them for your inspection.

The soldiers, not only at the *Isle au Noix*, but likewise at St. John's, have been very subject to the scurvy, not having any other than salt provisions, but by drinking plentifully of spruce beer,

they are now all in perfect health, which clearly proves that liquor to be a powerful antiscorbutic. It is so much known in England, as to need no description; the only difference between the spruce there and here is, that here it is made with the branches of the tree itself, and there with the essence.

As the severity of the weather shuts up all intercourse by letters, this is the last you may expect to receive from me till the frost breaks up. But though I cannot write to you, be assured I shall continually think of you, and remain, with the greatest esteem and sincerity,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XIV

Montreal, January 18th, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I DID not expect to have written so soon, but an opportunity of a flag of truce, which is going by the way of Ticonderoga to New-York, unexpectedly occurring, I am happy to embrace it, especially when it is impossible for me to employ my leisure hours more satisfactory to myself, than in endeavouring to divert you. I shall therefore proceed to give you some account of the winter amusements of this place, and among the principal ones is that of carioling upon the ice, the inhabitants making large parties every day for that purpose; they generally go to *Point aux Trembles*, about three leagues from this city, at which place resides a Dutch woman, who makes most excellent sausages, and at whose house it is customary to refresh with these and bottled porter. As the north wind generally blows very sharp, you acquire a pretty good appetite, and, for my own part, I enjoyed this *petit repas* in preference to my dinner, very few regimental messes being conducted with that propriety and decorum which should characterize the profession, as there are generally among them a set of ungovernable young men. But to return to my description of carioling.

You will no doubt think it too much to go nine miles and back again for a jaunt before dinner; but

this mode of travelling is so very expeditious, that most of the inhabitants defer their journey to Quebec till this season of the year, as they can perform it with less difficulty, and much greater expedition.

The carioles are fashioned after different devices, to imitate birds and beasts, but in general they are of one construction, with only this difference, that the common people have theirs close upon the ice or snow, while those of their superiors are raised upon what are called runners, which elevate them about two feet. They paint them of various fantastical colors; many of them, as a contrast to this season of the year, are colored in imitation of thunder and lightning. It is certainly a very easy and expeditious method of travelling, for the horses of the country will go with ease fifteen miles an hour upon the ice. The inhabitants think nothing of a journey of forty or fifty miles to see a friend, and returning the same day.

Notwithstanding the river runs so rapid as I have before described, and is now entirely frozen over, yet there are certain warm springs that never will congeal; to caution travellers, every parish, as soon as the river is frozen over, is obliged to fix large pine trees in the ice, distant from each other about ten feet, which receiving moisture from the ice, and being an evergreen, continue so the whole winter, so that when travelling, it appears as if you were going between an avenue of firs.

On each side of the river it is quite smooth, but in the center, where the current runs so rapid, the

ice is thrown up in prodigious hills, through which the inhabitants are obliged to cut a passage to cross the river; the sides are frozen so as to bear carriages, long before the center, and when that freezes, no thunder can equal the noise, the reason of which you will easily imagine, for where these rapids are, the ice is thrown up in a continual succession of hills; between these hills, you are surrounded with ice several yards high, and there it is inconceivably cold; when upon the top of one of these hills, you cannot help stopping to view the many curious forms the ice is thrown into, some of it being in that of a pyramid, other pieces that of a cone, others again in large slabs, and some of it resembling the figures of men, birds and beasts; in short, no description can equal so romantic a prospect.

The Canadians have a very singular custom among them, at the commencement of the year, the men go round the city and salute the ladies, who sit up in state for three days for that purpose, and as the inhabitants are acquainted with each other, the lady is generally saluted by the greatest part of the men; the salutation is after the French fashion, upon the cheek, when having saluted one, the lady presents the other.

The European ladies who are settled here, rather than appear singular, adopt this custom, only varying the salutation after the English fashion; not but what I think the French mode preferable on this occasion, where the lady is under the necessity of

receiving the salute of every one. As I know you will make this observation, *I dare say he went his rounds*, let me candidly acknowledge I did, and with another officer. We had a very great mortification in going to the house of an English merchant, who has a beautiful wife: upon our entering, we disputed who should salute her first; you may suppose how eager we both were in our addresses upon entering the room, and would have enjoyed our chagrin, when we saw General Phillips there, whose departure must be waited for, before we could salute the lady; perhaps you will say the pleasure was heightened by contemplating her charms — *Præstat expectare.*

This being the first Catholic country I ever was in, you must suppose me particularly attentive to their religious ceremonies at Christmas. I had ever conceived, that most authors had greatly exaggerated their accounts upon that head, and had I not met with convincing proofs, my candor could not suppose that mankind were so weak in their understandings. That the lower class of people should be led away is not to be wondered at, but how men of learning, sound sense and good understanding should, is to me astonishing. It is allowable for every man to worship any thing symbolically, but their doing it in reality never can be admitted. These superstitious people implicitly believe, the waxen images that are shewn them by their priests, to be absolutely the persons they are intended to represent.

On Christmas Eve, I went to the great church, where there was a prodigious concourse of people, and got as near as I could to the altar, to observe the ceremonies. About nine o'clock the service began with prayers and anthems, which lasted till ten, when the cradle was brought in, upon which there was a great shout; after this they continued singing and praying till the clock struck twelve, when the high priest brought in a wax figure of a child, superbly dressed, the music struck up, and there was a second great shouting. The child being deposited in the cradle, it was rocked till about one o'clock, when the ceremony finished.

In some of the convents they are exceedingly curious in their wax images: there was a representation of the Messiah, which was daily varied in its size, from the time of its supposed birth, till the time the Monks had fixed as necessary for its being sufficiently grown to represent our Saviour, at the age he was when he preached in the Temple. When I first went to see this wax-work, on the Christmas-day, there was a figure of Joseph, dressed in a scarlet cloak, with a large tie wig, another to resemble the Virgin Mary with a little child, laying in a manger, and over it was the figure of an ox and an ass's head, which are at the same time emblematical of their own stubbornness and stupidity. In a few days this representation was changed, and there was another of the Wise Men making their offerings to the *Salvator Mundi*; so continuing every remarkable event of his life, till the time of preaching in

the Temple; and whenever I went, there was always a vast concourse of people upon their knees praying to these figures. This mode of religion appears to me to be extremely well calculated to inspire devotion in the lower class of people, yet it is great pity some better method of paying adoration to the Divine Being cannot be adopted to inspire a true sense of his existence, than means so absurd. Difference of opinion concerning religion ever will prevail, but lest you think I am growing too sermonic, I shall conclude this subject with an observation of a *Monsieur Blondeaux*, at whose house I am quartered, and who is a very sensible and intelligent man.

Conversing with him, one day, on their worshipping these waxen images, and other ridiculous ceremonies in their religion, *Monsieur*, said he, *Mon avis est que chacun doit suivre la religion pour laquelle il se sent plus d'inclination*; *et je suis assuré qu'au jour du jugement, on ne nous demandra pas quelle religion nous avons professée, mais que nous serons tous recompensés ou punis selon nos actions.*

As I informed you this goes by a flag of truce, it would be unpardonable to omit mentioning the humanity of General Carleton, who has cloathed all those who were taken prisoners, they being almost in a state of nakedness; many of them he suffered to return to their homes upon their paroles of not bearing arms again during the war. Those who are here to be exchanged are cloathed, and fare the same as our own soldiers.

Fate can only determine whether I shall experience the misfortune of being taken prisoner, but, if I should, it is my hope that I may not meet with worse treatment than these people have received.

By the mode this will be conveyed, I am not certain that it may reach you; but if it should, it brings you my best wishes for your health and happiness, and an assurance that I am, with great sincerity,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XV

Montreal, January 28th, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE winter is now set in with great severity, and you would naturally conclude that this country is the most uncomfortable in the world, and its inhabitants the most unhappy, but far from it: the city and the country people around, seem to be perfectly in their element; there is nothing but carioling, feasting, and other amusements. The Canadians perfectly resemble the French with respect to dancing, having meetings at each other's houses for that purpose almost every night.

Though the weather is so severe, the inhabitants here never stay in doors in the day, unless it snows, which seldom happens, for the first fall is generally the only one they have, and that lasts for two or three days, after which the weather is settled, and has been extremely pleasant for this month past; excepting one day, there has been quite an Italian sky, not a cloud to be seen.

The air of Canada is reckoned the most salubrious and healthy of any in the world; yet notwithstanding this, the Canadians are very consumptive, and it is incredible what numbers of them die before they arrive at maturity; if they survive that period, they mostly live to a good old age.

A very eminent physician, Dr. Kennedy, who is

with our army, attributes this entirely to the stoves they make use of in the winter, and that was any other mode of conveying warmth substituted, they would in all probability be a long lived people. For, says he, the inhabitants mostly keep their stoves heated, and in coming out of the fresh air to enter a room where there is one, you are almost suffocated. How pernicious this must be to the constitution, especially of the young children, who are continually going in and out of the heated rooms into the snow and upon the ice; and when the lungs and pores are expanded by the heat of these stoves, run without any addition of cloathing into the cold, where the blood receives so sudden a change, that it generally leaves some fatal disorder upon the lungs.

It is very difficult to eradicate long established prejudices and customs, but if the Canadians were to adopt the mode of other northern climates, where the cold is nearly as intense as it is here, I think they would experience the benefits arising from it.

In Russia, Germany, and in all the northern parts upon the Continent in Europe, the inhabitants have stoves similar to the Canadians, but so constructed, that when the room is of a sufficient warmth, the front opens with two folding doors, where there is a good fire in a grate, and the sulphureous air exhales up the funnel, by which means they enjoy an agreeable warmth; if they perceive it getting cold, they shut the doors for a little while, till the room is sufficiently heated. The Canadian

stoves are so constructed, that the whole time you are in a room, you are almost stifled with the sulphureous vapor, which must be extremely pernicious, and in all probability occasions the sallow complexion of the Canadians; there cannot be a stronger proof that it is so, than its having the same effect on Europeans who have been settled here any length of time.

They put me in mind of Erasmus's *Diversoria Germanica* — B. *In hypocausto exuis ocreas; induis calceos; mutas, si voles, indusium, vestes pluvia madidas suspendis juxta hypocaustum; ipse te admoves, ut sicceris. Itaque frequenter in idem hypocaustum conveniunt octaginta aut nonaginta, pedites, equites, negotiatores, nautæ, aurigæ, agricolæ, pueri, fæminæ, sani, ægroti.* — Gu. *Istuc verè cœnobium est.* — Be. *Alius ibi pectit caput, alius abstergit sudorem, alius repurgat perones aut ocreas, alius eructat alium. Quid multis? Ibi linguarum ac personarum non minor est confusio, quàm olim in turri Babel. Prodit famulus senex barbâ canâ, tonso capite, vultu torvo, sordido vestitu.* — Gu. *Tales opportebat cardinalibus Romanis esse à poculis.* — Be. *Is circumactis oculis tacitus dinumerat, quot sint in hypocausto: quo plures adesse videt, hoc vehementius accenditur hypocaustum etiamsi alioque sol æstu sit molestus. Hæc apud illos præcipua pars est bonæ tractionis, si sudore diffluant omnes. Si quis non assuetus vapori, aperiat rimam fenestræ, nè præfocetur, protinus audit,* Claude. *Si respondeas,* Non fero: *audis,* Quære igitur aliud diversorium. — Gu. *Atque mihi nihil videtur peri-*

culosius, quàm tam multos haurire eundem vaporem, maximè resoluto corpore, atque hic capere cibum, et horas complures commorari. Tum enim omitto ructus alliatos, et ventris flatum, halitus putres: multi sunt qui morbis occultis laborant, nec ullus morbus non habet suum contagium. — BE. *Sunt viri fortes, ista rident ac negligunt.* — GU. *Sed interim multorum periculo fortes sunt.* — You will pardon me such a long quotation, but it is so apposite, that I could not resist it.

Although the weather is intensely cold, the mode of dress in use here, and these stoves, prevent your ever feeling any; there are none of those raw damp days, so much the subject of complaint in England, and from the bad effects of which no cloathing will defend you.

The dress of the natives is extremely well calculated for the climate; it consists (in addition to the common habiliments worn in England) of a blanket coat, a pair of what are called leggings, with a kind of flap on the outside of the leg, to prevent the snow from clogging round them; fur gloves, and a fur cap, which is made to pull over the ears, but this is seldom done, except when the strong north-west winds blow. At that time it is very dangerous to go out, as you run a great risque of being frost-bit, which happens in an instant, sometimes in turning the corner of a street, without being sensible of it at the time, as it occasions no sort of pain; if the part affected is not immediately rubbed with snow, and every precaution

taken, it is sure to mortify, and should any one, thus circumstanced, be imprudent enough to go near the fire, mortification is inevitable.

To convince you how very instantaneous it must be, I shall relate a ludicrous circumstance, which however had nearly been productive of a duel.

An officer in the garrison having a nose remarkably large, was going to dinner at the mess, when not four doors from his lodgings, turning round a corner, he met another officer, who immediately cried out, "God bless me, your nose is frost-bit." From the small distance he had gone, he thought it impossible, and that his friend was bantering him; high words arose, and they parted with an appointment to meet the next morning, to resent the affront. He made haste to his dinner, and upon his entering the room, the officers prevented his coming to the fire, telling him at the same time his nose was frost-bit. He then began to think it no joke, and was happy to apply the usual remedy: it was no bad punishment for his rashness and incredulity, that during the time the officers were at dinner, he was obliged to be in the cold, rubbing his nose with snow till the blood circulated, and though very sharp set, obliged to nose a meal he would have been happy to partake of.

The present season of the year not permitting any military manœuvres, and naturally inclining us more to reflections of a serious nature, than the gay appearance of the spring or summer, I shall

again trespass on your patience with some few observations on the effects of the intense cold weather experienced in this country; and as you have always appeared partial to my adding the remarks of others, where I thought them more just and beautiful than my own, I shall allude to some that struck me on the following phœnomena.

I have already mentioned to you that the frost is set in, and among the many inconveniencies which the inhabitants of this northern region suffer from it, none is more to be lamented than that of the ground being so much frozen, as to make it impossible to dig a grave for the interment of those who die at this time; their friends are obliged to keep them above ground till a thaw comes, when they return the body to the dust from whence it came.

You will easily conceive, my dear friend, that the daily sight of so mournful an object as the bier of a departed husband, must inevitably lengthen out the sorrow of

> "The new made Widow —
> Whilst busy meddling Memory,
> In barbarous succession, musters up
> The past endearments of their softer hours,
> Tenacious of its theme."

To relatives, who often think it a religious duty to mourn the departed, such scenes, by a protracted sorrow, often draw life to its utmost verge, and at the funeral they are scarce more alive than the corpse they bury. To those who, without feeling a

loss, are yet led to contemplate, it often suggests the idea of Arbuthnot,

> "What am I? how produc'd? and for what end?
> Whence drew I being? to what period tend?"

I think you would hardly forgive me, were I not to relate to you the very strange manner in which these thoughts affect the German soldiers of our army. I know not whether to call it sympathy, or by any other name, but it strongly evinces the connexion existing between the body and mind.

The Germans, to the number of twenty or thirty at a time, will in their conversations relate to each other, that they are sure they shall not live to see home again, and are certain that they shall very soon die: would you believe it, after this they mope and pine about, haunted with the idea, that

> "Nor wives, nor children, shall they more behold,
> Nor friends, nor sacred home."

Nor can any medicine or advice you can give them divert this settled superstition, which they as surely die martyrs to, as ever it infects them. Thus it is that men, who have faced the dangers of battle and of shipwreck without fear (for they are certainly as brave as any soldiers in the world), are taken off, a score at a time, by a mere phantom of their own brain. This is a circumstance well known to every one in the army.

In case of any decease in the family of a Canadian, the corpse is deposited in some private cham-

ber, but in our general hospital there is a long room appropriated for that purpose. The superintendant of this room, an apothecary, being a man possessed of whimsical ideas, and a turn for the ludicrous, had placed the dead bodies of these poor Germans in various postures, some kneeling with books in their hands, others sitting down with pipes in their mouths, many standing erect against the wall, and as they have their cloaths on, you scarcely at first imagine they are dead; but upon a nearer approach, what with their long mustaches, which are put in form, and their ghastly countenance, you cannot picture to yourself any thing so horrible, yet at the same time so truly laughable and ridiculous.

After what I have related, you will most probably agree with me, that the constitution of England has not unwisely declared apothecaries and surgeons incapable of composing a jury upon trials for capital offences, though it excludes some few of them who do honor to the profession, by their gentleness and humanity: yet I am fearful the major part of them would not join in the warmth that is so frequently experienced, in the generous and noble bursts of joy that overwhelms the order of our courts of justice, when unprotected innocence escapes the arbitrary and revengeful prosecution of malice and power. I have heard surgeons, as an excuse for the strange want of feeling either brought on by the daily visitation of sickness and pain, or which they possess from the apathy of their nature,

say, that were they to feel much on the occasion, it would disable them from doing their duty. Strange argument this! and as contradictory to sound sense as true philosophy, which might teach them gentleness in the manner, and firmness in the execution. For my own part, such is the situation of my mind, when I am indisposed, that I have fancied the affectionate "how do ye" of the surgeon and apothecary, has done me as much good as their drugs, or the performance of an operation in phlebotomy. Can any one conceive it proper, when a youth of sixteen has broke a leg, that the surgeon, while in doubt on the first visit, should, in the presence of his patient, refuse to search whether a fracture had actually happened, because *he would make such a roaring and a noise that he should not get it out of his head for a fortnight*, and though the lad with spirit assured him, that those who were present had not seen him shed a tear; the surgeon, however, did not make the experiment, though I believe for a much better reason than he gave, which was that the leg was much swelled. Thus did a surgeon, while I was in England, treat our cousin B——, lowering his spirits, leaving him three or four days in suspence, whether his leg was broken or not, merely to shew how coolly he could talk on a subject like that before him. Had he, instead of this unfeeling excuse, but tenderly assured his patient, that it would put him to more pain to make the search then, than at a future time, I should have supposed it would have made his mind more easy, and been the means of

preventing the access of a fever, always to be feared on these occasions.

In the hospitals, perhaps the multiplicity of cases may plead an excuse for little ceremony, but in private practice, where they are well paid, thus wantonly to wound the feelings of those who are but in ill spirits, cannot add either to their credit or practice.

You will long ere this wonder how I have strayed from the wild scenes that surround me, to lash the hardened professors of the Esculapian art, but you too well know that such things do exist, not to pardon my deviation. I shall therefore conclude with my sincere wishes that you may never have the misfortune to fall into their hands, and remain

Yours, &c.

LETTER XVI

Montreal, February 27th, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AS my last was liable to the inspection of the enemy, I have been restrained from informing you of many things that it would otherwise have communicated. I embrace, therefore, the opportunity of an officer going to Quebec, in order that you may receive this by the first ship that sails for England.

Since my last I have been again to St. John's, where, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, the artificers and shipwrights are all busily employed. We have raised upon the Lakes, in addition to the force of last summer, a curious vessel, called a *Radeaux*, which formerly belonged to the French, and was sunk by the Americans near this place: it is a castle of itself, of a monstrous constructure, and will hold a great number of men; she is intended to convey the heavy artillery across the Lakes. From the account, indeed, that we have received from some deserters, the Americans do not intend to dispute them, but wait our arrival at Ticonderoga.

The garrison at St. John's has been kept very alert most of the winter, as several parties of the enemy have come across the Lake upon sleighs, and having hovered about the woods, twice attacked the block-house on the opposite shore, their views,

no doubt, were of destroying our fleet; but to render the ships more secure, the ice has been cut away for several yards round them, to prevent their being set fire to.

As I returned from St. John's along the river, my attention was suddenly caught by an object well calculated to have exercised the feelings, and employed the pen of a Sterne.

When the river freezes over, the Canadians cut a square hole in the ice, for the cattle to drink out of. I saw a drove of sheep surrounding one of these holes: the whole flock looked most piteously, and bleated with so mournful a lamentation, as would have pierced a heart of stone; one of them seemed infinitely more agitated than the rest, and exhibited feelings that would have done honor to the most tender sensibility. Curiosity, concern, or what you will, led me instantly to the mouth of the hole, where a poor little lamb, not four days old, urged by extreme thirst, had fallen in; it was struggling for life, and sent forth such distressful cries! — my God, how my pulse beat, and my breast was full, even to bursting! — how often did it get its little feet on flakes that seemed to promise it support, and as often it slipt back again into the water; now it seemed by ineffectual exertions, anxious for life, and now hopeless and despairing, lay inanimate; — it was some time before I could extricate it; do me justice, and guess my feelings till I had effectually saved its life. I took it up in my arms, and the whole flock followed me to the farm house.

To describe the mother's solicitude, and the joy at finding it safe, is impossible; language can never betray what the imagination itself can scarcely paint. You who are possessed of sympathy, and a tender regard for the whole creation, which is perhaps the greatest ornament of human nature, will easily believe the infinite pleasure this little office of humanity afforded me.

This is one of the many things in which the mind might be apt to arraign the wisdom of Providence, why nature should give birth to such tender creatures, at so rigorous a season of the year, when to all appearance they require the utmost warmth to bring them to perfection.

A few days since I went to *Verchere*, to see some officers of the 24th regiment, which village is extremely pleasant, commanding a very extensive view both ways of the river, with a prospect of this city. It derives its name from a circumstance, wherein it is proved that the fair sex, upon emergencies, possess a courage equal, if not superior to ours. In the year 1690, when this province was in a continual state of warfare with the Indians, and the inhabitants were obliged to reside in forts, it happened that a *Madame de Verchere* was left alone in the fort, whilst the rest of the people were at work in the fields; a small party of Indians gaining this intelligence, were determined to enter the fort, plunder it, and take her prisoner; *Madame de Verchere*, however, perceiving them approach in a posture for scaling the palisado, fired some musquet

shot, and drove them to a distance; they instantly returned, and were again repulsed, astonished, you may be sure, since they could only discover a woman, who appeared as undismayed as if she had been surrounded with a numerous garrison. The Indians knowing the place was unprovided with any other defence, made several attempts, and were always repulsed by the lady, who defended herself in the fort for near four hours, with a valor and presence of mind which would have done honor to an old warrior: they were at length compelled to retire entirely, as the inhabitants of the fort (who always went out to labor with their musquets, in case of an attack) were returning, and greatly superior in number to the Indians. This was not the only instance of this lady's courage, for about two years after, a party of the same Indians, but much more numerous, surprized and took prisoners the men, when at work; a little girl happened to make her escape, who, running into the fort acquainted *Madame de Verchere* of what had happened. Shortly after the Indians appeared before the fort, leading the men captive. There was not a soul left in it, besides a young soldier and a number of women, who raised most lamentable cries at the sight of their husbands being led prisoners. In the midst of this, *Madame de Verchere* lost neither her courage nor presence of mind, for after locking up the women, that their groans and weeping might not inspire the Indians with additional courage, and assuming the habiliments of a soldier, she fired a

piece of cannon and several musquet shot, shewing herself with her soldier, sometimes in one redoubt and sometimes in another, always firing upon the approach of the Indians to the breast-work, who did not make a fierce assault, as by her stratagem they supposed there were many men in the garrison. Fortunately for the lady, she had not long to remain in this disagreeable state, for the *Chevalier de Crisasy* who was Governor of a small fort at *Chamblée*, upon hearing the firing of cannon, came to the succour of the place, and that so suddenly, that the Indians were obliged to make a very precipitate retreat, leaving their prisoners behind them.

This remarkable lady lived to a good old age, and died in Normandy, where there is a monument erected to her, with these two singular instances of her fortitude and bravery.

One would imagine that this spot of *Verchere* was destined for the trial of fortitude and bravery in the fair sex, to which I might add conjugal affection. At this time a lady resides here, noble by birth, in whom is united all the softness and delicacy of her sex, ever accustomed to those elegancies and refined enjoyments which are attendant upon high rank and fortune: she has forsaken all the pleasures of the gay and fashionable world, to accompany her husband to the wild forests of Canada; already travelled a vast extent of country, in different extremities of season, and with difficulties that an European will not easily conceive. Such instances

of connubial attachment, in the levity of the present day, are rarely to be met with; but that such characters do exist, and that the pleasures and gaieties of the *beau monde* have not altogether vanquished the social virtues, is to be instanced in that pattern of her sex, Lady Harriet Ackland, who has not only encountered the hardships already described, but upon joining the army, in addition to her former fatigues, had to attend her husband upon his sick bed, in a miserable hut at *Chamblée*. A mind like hers, animated by love and affection, is alone capable of encountering such hardships.

General Phillips commands this garrison, and is much esteemed by the officers of the army; he gives them as little trouble as possible, but will have them perform their duty, and seldom misses coming upon the parade in a morning. The following anecdote will give you a trait of his character, and shew you the method he has of gaining the esteem of the officers:

One evening several young officers of the artillery having made a little too free with "the Tuscan grape, and being high in blood," went to the house of a Canadian, the father of three very pretty daughters: it happened the young ladies were at home, and as they had frequently given some little encouragement to the officers, these young men thought themselves warranted in taking a few liberties with them; but, as the wine had deprived them of all ideas of restraint, they proceeded farther than the rules of decency or delicacy allow of,

or than I chuse to relate. In the midst of this scene the father arrived, whose appearance added greatly to the confusion, and the old gentleman making a general alarm and outcry, the officers were obliged to decamp.

The next morning a formal complaint was made to General Phillips, by the father of the young ladies, who said that if he was not immediately redressed, he would set off for Quebec, and lay his complaint before General Carleton, at the same time informing him who had been the aggressors, adding, with some warmth, *Qu'il étoit bien certain que ce bon Général lui rendroit justice.*

The General professed himself extremely sorry that such a disgrace should have fallen upon the officers of that garrison, and that he should, for his own sake, render him all the justice in his power, in order to wipe off such a stigma from his own corps, which pacified the Canadian.

The next day being the General's levee, those officers, who were now become conscious of their imprudent behaviour, did not absent themselves, least it should argue guilt. After the General had made his bow of retirement to the levee, he desired that the officers of the artillery would remain, and the rest of the company being departed, he addressed them in the following manner:

"Gentlemen, I have had a very heavy complaint "made to me by one of the inhabitants, of some "of the officers of the artillery, and cannot but say "I feel it more forcibly, as commanding that corps

"— and of such a nature too — Gallantry has ever "marked the soldier's character, and I could allow "you to use every persuasive argument that lays "in your power, but for Heaven's sake, don't use "violence, that is beneath a man! — For my own "part, I do not know who has been guilty of such "conduct, nor can I form the least idea of the per- "son, unless it was Capt. H——, (pointing to an old "and infirm officer) I am sure it could not be any of "the young gentlemen, certainly their persons and "address would have ensured them success. When "you solicit the fair, violence becomes unneces- "sary. I neither know who the officers were, nor do "I wish to be informed; but let me advise them to "pursue different means, when they next address "the ladies, as they may rest assured those they "have adopted will never succeed. I only desire "that I may never hear of any more such com- "plaints, nor need I suggest to those gentlemen "who are conscious of having been concerned in "this affair, that it is compatible with their char- "acters, to make every satisfaction and apology "for their conduct, to the father of the young "ladies."

I need not observe, that those who had been the cause of this handsome reprimand of the General's, immediately went and made the required apology. Thus, by the natural politeness and address of General Phillips, ended a business, which, under the cognizance of a more austere commander, might have been rendered fatal to the characters and for-

tunes of those who had erred only in the moment of inebriation.

Most of the inhabitants have large holes dug in their cellars, which they fill with ice, and those who have them are now laying it in for the summer. I am informed the heat is equally as predominant as the cold is at present, and were it not for the ice cellars, they could not keep their provisions sweet a day. At this season of the year, the inhabitants have very little trouble in going to market, having only the article of eggs and butter to purchase, for as soon as the frost sets in, they generally purchase what provisions they think will serve them till it breaks up, not only flesh and fowl, but even fish, for they make holes in the ice, and let down nets five or six fathom long, which seldom are drawn up empty, and these articles, when brought for sale, are frozen as hard as a stone; the provisions being laid in so long before they have occasion to use them, are always tender. When they want to dress any thing, it is put into a pail of cold water before the fire, otherwise the water would soon be congealed; in about an hour, whatever kind of provision is put in thaws, and becomes fit for use.

The lower class of Canadians are exceedingly insolent, and insult the officers upon every occasion; their behaviour would be insufferable, did they not now and then get severely chastised. Was I induced to hazard an opinion as to the cause of this, I should attribute it to the very great indulgence

shewn to them by General Carleton; they imagine it is only to lay their complaints, however absurd, before him, and be redressed, according to the story they tell him. The following is the best specimen I can give you, in confirmation of my assertion:

As Colonel Carleton was driving his cariole, with a lady in it, upon the ice, a Canadian drove his sleigh designedly against the Colonel's cariole, by which it was overset and much damaged: upon this the Colonel gave him a most severe horse-whipping, which the Canadian bore very patiently, saying, with a slight shrug, *Fouëttez donc Monsieur, jusques à ce que vous soyez fatigué, mais je vous assure je m'en plaindrai au Général Carleton.* The Colonel then encreased his flagellation, telling him at the same time, *Et quand vous vous plaindrez au Général, ayez la bonté de l'informer en même tems, que c'est son frère qui vous a fouëtté.* The Canadian hearing this, and presuming he should then obtain no redress, began to ask pardon, became very submissive, and was glad to make the best of his escape, by slinking away and drawling out, *Que si'l eut su que c'étoit le frère du bon Général, il n'auroit pas fait cela pour tout au monde.*

This little anecdote, while it convinces you what great lengths these plebeians go, when they imagine themselves protected, will afford you an example of that meanness ever attendant upon vulgar and base minds, when a proper chastisement is bestowed upon them, for such instances of their audacity.

I am just informed there is an opportunity of sending letters to Quebec, from whence this will soon reach you, with my sincere wishes for your health and happiness. I remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XVII

Montreal, April 6th, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AS we are now in daily hopes of the frost's breaking up, and every one is anxious and impatient to hear from his friends, do not let me meet with a disappointment.

Being desirous to visit every place worthy of notice, I went to *Chamblée*, where are the remains of a fort, formerly built by the French, for what purpose they are the best judges: it is said their intention was to prevent an army entering Canada. It is so situated, that an army can march by *La Prairé* and *La Chine*, take *Montreal*, and then turn their whole force against the fort, which would be thus cut off from any relief. This has been clearly evinced this war, when General Prescott, with several companies, were taken prisoners in it.

The fort is built of stone, of a regular square, with four bastions at each angle, without any outworks, and is situated a few miles from the mountains which I have already described; from its situation I can never suppose it otherwise than intended as a magazine for stores and provisions to supply St. John's.

About three miles from the fort are the rapids, which prevent shipping going up to St. John's; there is a saw-mill there, and it being the first of the kind I ever saw, I was particular in my exam-

ination of it. After the owner had given me every necessary information, I asked him which Government he preferred, when he exclaimed, *Oh! Monsieur, il n'y a point de comparaison, l'Anglois! l'Anglois!* and then related a circumstance, which no doubt you will say carried a powerful reason for the poor old man's giving us the preference, and affords another proof how much the Canadians were oppressed by the French.

There was a custom, which is continued for the repair of roads, transporting provisions, and other services for Government, called a *corvée*; it is in the breast of the Captains of the Militia to nominate such a number of inhabitants to go with horses and carts upon that duty.

At the time Lord Amherst was expected to enter Canada, across Lake *Champlain*, the French were continually sending supplies of ammunition and provisions to *Chamblée* and St. John's, and the inhabitants, as well as their cattle, were almost worked and harrassed to death, by the oppression and tyranny of the Captains of Militia.

Before the campaign commenced, General Montcalm went to St. John's and *Chamblée*, to see that those garrisons were in a perfect state of defence, when the poor peasants assembled in a body round him, and fell on their knees to tell their grievances. The man who owned the saw-mill told the General he was willing to serve *le Grand Monarque*, but he had been much oppressed; that his harvest and plantation had been neglected, and his family al-

most ruined and starving; and, to add to his misfortunes, *que le deux seuls chevaux qui lui restoient étoient morts de fatigue la veille*: to which the General, instead of comforting and redressing the poor old man, with a very stern look, and at the same time twirling his *croix de St. Louis*, replied, *Mais vous en avez les peaux, c'est beaucoup, c'est beaucoup!*

Among the various amusements we enjoyed while away this long winter, I forgot to mention that skating is one, which those who are fond of that diversion are amply indulged in, there being such a constancy and large extent of ice. There are several officers in the regiment, who being exceeding fond of it, have instituted a skating club, to promote diversion and conviviality.

The Canadians skate in the manner of the Dutch, and exceedingly fast, but the Indians dart along like lightning. Some years since, for a considerable wager, three Indians set off from this place at day light, and before dark arrived at Quebec, which is 60 leagues; their fatigue, however, was so great, that two expired shortly after their arrival, and the third did not survive above a week.

In this country there is no spring nor autumn, and as the frost is daily expected to break, the troops are kept in continual exercise. General Carleton is come to review the different regiments; but the snow is so deep upon the ground, they are exercised and to be reviewed on the ice, which you would naturally think extremely dangerous, and that the men would slip and do one another mis-

chief with their bayonets; but such is the power of the sun at this time, that during the day it thaws the surface, which freezing again at night, forms a kind of small ice, affording a steady footing, added to which, all the ice opposite the city is covered with loose straws blown from the dung. The soil being so extremely prolific, they have no occasion for manure, and therefore bring it in sleighs upon the ice, to be carried away when it breaks up.

There are many unpleasant duties attending an officer, but none more so than sitting upon a court-martial. A few days ago, being upon that duty, I felt myself much distressed, as being the junior officer, and of course the first to pass sentence, but was soon released from that painful task, the culprit escaping a punishment, by his blunt oddity. The crime for which he was tried, and for which he had been twice punished before, was that of drunkenness and disorderly behaviour, which being upon this occasion clearly proved, he was asked by the President what he had to say in his defence. He replied, "Oh! and plaise your Honors, I have nothing "to say, but to save your Honors and the Court "any further trouble, you may set me down two "hundred, I'm sure your Honors will think that "enough." The droll and simple manner in which the fellow spoke, accompanied with his dialect, occasioned a smile upon every one present. After he was ordered to withdraw, the Court were of opinion, that as the man was in other respects a good soldier, his whimsical manner should in this in-

stance save him a punishment; when, being called in, and receiving a severe reprimand from the President, and his promising never to be guilty of the like again, he was dismissed. After thanking the Court for their lenity, he said, "Since as your Hon-"ors have been so good to me, I'll *keg* myself for six "months, directly I get home." As you will not easily comprehend the word *keg*, or how it can be applied in this instance, I will explain it to you: it is a cant word that the soldiers have among them, when they wish to refrain from liquors, they take an oath that for such a limited time they will not touch any spirits whatever, and if they are strongly addicted to liquor, nothing can tempt them to taste any. Perhaps you will say, it would not be amiss if the officers sometimes followed their example.

It is incredible to think what a difference a few days makes at this season of the year. About six days after our regiment was reviewed, the snow began to thaw, and is now totally dissolved, except where there has been great drifts, and the ice along the banks has such great chasms, that the river is now unsafe to pass over. The center, where the rapids had thrown up the ice, every now and then breaks, with a noise equal to thunder.

It is astonishing how quick vegetation is in this country, you can almost perceive the grass grow; the snow has not been gone many days, and the fields are entirely green, which can only be attributed to the ground's being continually covered with

snow, which nourishes and preserves the blades with such a warmth, that when the sun, which even now is extremely powerful, can come at it, it brings it forward so very rapidly.

The roads are almost impassable, but I am informed that in the course of a fortnight they will be as dry and dusty as in the midst of summer.

In going out of the city towards *Point aux Trembles*, on the right hand, stands a stately old house, which was built by a person, who, after many disappointments and losses in trade, with the most unremiting and indefatigable industry, had scraped together a plentiful fortune, and as an allusion to the particulars of his life, had carved over his front door the figure of a dog gnawing a large fleshy bone, with this whimsical inscription:

Je suis le chien qui ronge l'os
Sans en perdre un seul morceau:
Le temps viendra, qui n'est pas venu
Je mordrai celui qui m'aura mordu.

The great diversion of carioling is now over, and the inhabitants are getting ready their calashes, for they are equally as fond of driving in them as in their carioles.

I am told there is seldom a winter passes, but several people lose their lives, both before the river freezes over and when the ice breaks up, by being too adventurous in crossing it, a shocking instance of which happened three days ago.

Across the chasms made by the ice in breaking

up, which sometimes are five or six yards wide, a bridge of planks is thrown; a cariole passing over one of these, in which was two persons, the horse proving unruly, drew it over the side, and they fell down the chasm near forty feet, where they remained a little time, it being narrow at the bottom, and though every assistance was instantly had, no relief could be afforded, as before the ladders and ropes could be let down to them, the weight of the horse and cariole broke the ice at the bottom, and they were all carried away by the current.

I could not help thinking of the poor lamb in the same situation, and lamented the striking difference between the despair of a whole anxious flock for the loss of a young one, and that bustling coldness which disgraced humanity, at the sudden and unexpected death of a man.

The cloathing for the army not being sent out last year, and as it will be too late to fit it to the men when it arrives, the commanding officers of the different regiments have received orders to reduce the men's coats into jackets, and their hats into caps, as it will be the means of repairing their present cloathing, and be more convenient for wood service, that when the army take the field, they will in a manner be all light infantry. The regiments have the hair that is affixed to their caps of different colors; ours is red, and as the purest white hair takes the best color, several soldiers, ambitious to have theirs superior to the rest, occasioned a very ludicrous affray betwixt them and

the inhabitants, in which the soldiers were worsted, and got a severe beating.

They went into a field, to the number of about twenty, and began to cut the hair from the bottom of the cows tails: the owner observing this, assembled his neighbours and fell upon the soldiers with sticks, when a scuffle ensued, and the soldiers returned home with broken heads.

Two that had been severely beaten, made a complaint to the Major of the regiment, who asked them if they had on their side-arms, when replying in the negative, he told them how glad he was they had got a beating; that they should always be worn, being the same to a soldier as a sword was to an officer.

The inhabitants say, that the winter has been quite mild to what the last was, and if so, their hard winters must be terribly cold; that in general the frost seldom breaks till the end of this month, and sometimes May; and as a proof of its mildness, several nations of Indians have come some hundred miles to join the army.

It is a pity their assistance cannot be dispensed with, as they will not be restrained; they are absolutely necessary in this woody country, and especially as the enemy have them, they are a restraint upon each other, and I really believe so much mischief will not ensue, as if only one party had engaged them. Those on our side will be superior in numbers to the Americans, as they cannot furnish them with necessary supplies.

The attachment of the Indian lasts no longer than you heap presents on him, and he sides with that party which will make the greatest.

It is absolutely necessary to keep well with them, for though there is such an amazing tract of country in possession of Europeans, it is nothing when put in competition with the unknown tract that extends to the westward. And though the Indians are much depopulated, still they are a very numerous race of people; it is altogether unknown where many nations are settled, nor could it be ascertained any such existed, were it not for straggling Indians belonging to them, that are casually met with.

These people are under great subjection to their chiefs, and pay implicit obedience to them: They come every year to Montreal, to what is called the fair, when several hundreds of them assemble, and are exceedingly troublesome to the inhabitants, they receive presents to keep them peaceable, and in league of friendship; it is incredible what immense sums it annually costs Government for that purpose.

General Carleton returns to-morrow to Quebec, and as I send this by one of his Aid-de-Camps, who is going to England, and who has sent his servant for my letters, I am obliged to conclude hastily, with assuring you, that you shall hear from me by every opportunity, and remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XVIII

Montreal, May 20th, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

NOT having had a letter from you these six months, it is impossible to express the pleasure yours gave me. I sincerely rejoice that your health is re-established, and hope it will always continue so.

You hint in yours, that great events are expected in the course of the ensuing campaign, and that the operations of the two armies will nearly terminate this unfortunate contest. As to our army, I can only say, if good discipline, joined to health and great spirit amongst the men, with their being led on by General Burgoyne, who is universally esteemed and respected, can ensure success, it may be expected; but, as I observed before, we have more dangerous enemies at home, than any we have to encounter abroad, for all transactions that are to take place are publicly known, long before they are officially given out in orders, and I make no doubt but you will be as much surprized as the General was, when I tell you that the whole operations of the ensuing campaign were canvassed for several days before he arrived, who no doubt supposed, that in giving out his orders he was communicating an entire secret.

If, therefore, there are people in office, so imprudent as to communicate any public intelligence, no

doubt the numerous agents and well-wishers to the Americans will not be negligent in gaining continual and immediate information. As intelligence is the main spring of every movement in an army, the Americans will have a great advantage, and what will add considerably to that advantage, is the great secrecy they observe, and the utter impossibility to obtain the least intelligence of any of their designs, while they are previously acquainted with every one of ours.

About three weeks ago the river broke up, which was accompanied with a most astonishing noise: it happened in the night, and you must judge how strange it must appear, after being used to see, for such a length of time, so spacious a body of ice, with horses, carriages, and men travelling on it, changed to a beautiful river, with a number of ships and boats sailing and rowing upon it.

The country wears quite a new face, and summer is come all at once. The inhabitants are now busily employed on their farms, and every thing appears a scene of bustle and industry, after such a length of time passed in dull inactivity.

The army is now in movement to take the field; the advanced corps are already encamped at *Boucherville*, and were reviewed by General Burgoyne a few days since. I accompanied several officers to see them, who had never seen 1500 military men assembled together. As to the battalions of the light infantry and grenadiers, such a body of men could not be raised in a twelvemonth, search Eng-

land through. The line of the advanced corps extended a mile; they performed, exclusive of the common manœuvres, several new ones, calculated for defence in this woody country, and the General was pleased to express his approbation in the warmest terms, with regard to the high discipline of the men. They proceed in a few days to St. John's, and from thence they are to go upon the Lake, as far as the river *La Cole*, where they are to encamp, till the main body of the army is put in motion.

I was much pleased at a little politesse and attention of that amiable woman, Lady Harriet Ackland — Exclusive of the excellent qualities that had already endeared her to the officers of the grenadiers (which corps Major Ackland commands) she thought proper to express a sense of their attention to her (and who could be inattentive?) by some little present; so a few days before the officers took the field, she sent each of them, (thirty in number) half of a large Cheshire cheese, which was no such small present as you may imagine, English cheese being then a dollar per pound; and perhaps it may not occur to you, there is no present you can send to an European abroad, so great as good Cheshire cheese. If you should be inclined to send me one, and this is no small hint, let me desire you to enclose it in lead, and then in horse-hair, the former to preserve the moisture, and the latter as the only safeguard against the amazing large rats that are in such great abundance in almost all ships.

It much pleased me to observe the manner in

which the inhabitants kept Holy Thursday, which they term *La Fête Dieu.* On the evening preceding that day, I could not conceive the reason that the people were bringing cart loads of small firs into the city; but judge how great was my surprize in the morning, when I went to the parade, to find the streets swept as clean as possible, these trees stuck in the ground on each side, and so contrived that their tops united, that every street had the appearance of a grove, and upon enquiry found it was intended for the celebration of this great festival.

About eleven o'clock the procession began from the great Church, which extended near half a mile in length. All the principal Clergy, the Friars of the different Convents, with a large band of music attending; in the center of the procession, under a canopy of crimson velvet, supported by six Priests, the High Priest carried the Host, upon a Bible, covered with a white napkin, and before him two men bore a large basket full of flowers, which were strewed by several little boys in surplices; four others, with silver chalices, were continually wafting the incense towards the Host, the people at the same time singing anthems. In this manner the procession went through most of the streets in the city, and those who met it fell instantly on their knees; those who remained in their houses, came to the windows and did the same. I cannot but say it was a pleasing sight, and could not help thinking but it must be magnificent indeed, in those coun-

tries where the Roman Catholic is the established religion.

We were apprized of some procession, from an order given the day preceding by General Phillips, but had no idea of seeing such a spectacle. There having been several disputes in Roman Catholic countries, concerning the respect that the military should pay the Host, when passing by, his Majesty, a few years ago, issued out a general order for that purpose, which General Phillips gave out in orders as follows: — "As to-morrow there will be a great "procession through the city, I need not inform "the officers of the respect and attention his Maj- "esty has required should be paid the Host, when "passing. The non-commissioned officers are de- "sired to be particular in informing the men, that "when the Host is going by, they are to front it, "and behave in a decent and respectful manner, to "pull off their hats, and remain in that situation "till the procession has passed. Any complaint "that is made to the General, will be punished with "the utmost severity."

To-morrow I leave this city, to join the advanced corps at the river *La Cole*. Situated as I must be, confined to the company, which I am proud in saying is commanded by Lord Petersham, you cannot expect the whole detail of the manœuvres of the different actions that may happen, or a particular account of the siege of Ticonderoga. I shall however inform you of every thing that comes under my own observation, and give you my opinion of

events, not as an officer, but merely as a spectator.

The officers take the field under great disadvantages, in regard to horses to transport their baggage, when they quit the Lakes; those for the use of Government are sent through the woods to Crown Point, but their arrival at that place is very uncertain, as they are liable to be taken by the enemy. It is quite a hazard, but rather than be distressed when I get to Ticonderoga, I have risqued sending mine, with some others, through the woods; if they arrive safe it will be a vast convenience; if not, I shall be compelled to send back my baggage, and then, hey for courage and a knapsack!

Should any misfortune attend the cattle intended for Government, it will greatly retard the army, provided the Americans should abandon Ticonderoga; at all events it will impede us in some measure, as it will be several days after the army gets there before the horses arrive, and you may easily conceive an army cannot move without its artillery and provisions.

Another great disadvantage which we experience in the prosecution of this war, and which the Americans avoid is, that we have to transport all our provisions with us, whereas they have magazines stored with great abundance, every thirty or forty miles; where, in case any disaster attends their army, the loss of their provisions is easily recruited. But if any such event should happen with us, we should be obliged to make a stand at some

strong post, till provisions could be sent from Canada.

Added to this, the Americans are by much our superiors at wood-fighting, being habituated to the woods from their infancy. Our success in any engagement must greatly rest on the bayonet, the great utility of which General Burgoyne pointed out in an order a few days since, strongly recommending the officers to inculcate that idea into the minds of the men.

After I leave this city, you must not expect to hear from me so regularly as you have lately. But you may rest assured, I shall embrace every opportunity of letting you know I am not yet food for the crows.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XIX

Montreal, May 26th, 1777

My dear friend,

A FEW days since I was invited to dine with Capt. Frazer, who is superintendant over the Indians, and who gave us a dinner entirely of wild-meats. Most of the dishes were only to set off the table, there being such things there as very few of the company could partake of; we had the leg of a bear, indeed, which was salted, and far exceeded in flavor a leg of pork; another dish, which though deemed a great rarity with you, is not esteemed such here, a very fine haunch of venison. To tell you the truth, I really made my repast of what *Monsieur Roberdeau*, of Quebec, hinted to me, of the *Friandises*.

Just as the cloth was removed, there came into the room a great number of Indians, (and amongst them one very old) who not having much ceremony, and seeing the bottles and glasses on the table, would drink with us, and began to be extremely troublesome, when Capt. Frazer interfered, and to shew you the controul he has over them, the instant he spoke, they quitted the room, but not without a present, for I did not understand the Indian language, but as I thought, and as he afterwards told us he was obliged to order his servant to give them a bottle of rum.

After we had got rid of these troublesome guests,

and the table restored to order, Capt. Frazer said, "Gentlemen, I observed you all took notice of that "old Indian," which the company acquiescing in, he told the following very singular history relative to him:

That Indian, said he, is of the *Algonquin* nation, who are converted to Christianity, and who, being attached to the French, had excited the enmity of the *Iroquois*, whose hatred to Christians carried them to every excess of fury, murdering and tormenting to death, without any regard to sex or age, every one that had the misfortune to fall into their hands. To escape the fury of the *Iroquois*, the whole nation of the *Algonquins* were determined to fight their way to the French, in which struggle the women took no inconsiderable share, but nobly resisted their enemies on this occasion, when it so happened, that the mother of that old Indian was taken prisoner.

The *Iroquois* carried her to one of their villages, stripped her naked, bound her hand and foot in one of their cabins, and in that state she remained for ten days, the savages sleeping round every night. The 11th night, when they were all asleep, she disengaged herself from the ropes they had bound her with and fled into the forest. The second day after her escape, her footsteps were perceived by the *Iroquois* who were in search of her, and they pursued her with such expedition, that the third day she discovered them close at her heels: she instantly plunged into a pond of water

that was near her, and diving amongst some weeds and bulrushes, just kept her head above water, so as to breathe, and by this stratagem escaped from her pursuers, who, after making a most diligent search, went away the course they thought she would take. When night came on, she left her situation, and took a different route to that she perceived the savages had taken, by which means this poor creature wandered through the woods for five and thirty days, without any other sustenance than roots and wild-berries. At length she came to the river St. Laurence, and not perceiving any canoe along the shore, made a kind of wicker raft, on which she crossed the river, and had passed by Montreal, not knowing well in what part of the river she was, when, perceiving a canoe full of savages, and fearful lest they might be *Iroquois*, she again ran into the woods, and remained till sunset, when she directed her course to Montreal. — Within a mile of the city, she was discovered by a party whom she knew to be *Algonquins*; when they approached her, she squatted down behind a bush, calling out to them that she was not in a condition to be seen, as she was naked; one of them then threw her a blanket, and conducted her into the fort. After Capt. Frazer had related this story, he told us this old Indian took great pleasure in telling it to every one, at the same time expressing the utmost indignation, and vowing revenge against the *Iroquois*.

We had scarcely drank five glasses, after Captain

Frazer had finished his narration, when the Indians returned, upon a pretence of business to him, which was no other than that of procuring more rum, which Captain Frazer refusing them, they grew extremely troublesome, and what, with the liquor they had already drank, were much beyond any controul, for they paid no attention to Capt. Frazer, who, finding he could not pacify, or any way get rid of them, made us an apology, and the company broke up.

On my return home, mentioning to my landlord what I had heard concerning the *Iroquois*, he said, *Monsieur, les Iroquois sont le plus sauvage et frauduleux de tout*, and related the sad catastrophe of a Missionary, one *Father Jogues*, who resided a little below *Trois Rivieres*: imagining he had made great progress in converting them to Christianity, during a short interval of peace, was willing to spread his doctrine amongst the remote of the *Iroquois*; for that purpose, he set out with four Indians, and a young Frenchman as his servant; he had not passed *Trois Rivieres* above a league, when his four savage guides abandoned them: yet such was his enthusiasm and confidence of having wrought upon them so far, that his person was in safety, he would not return, but travelled on, and at the very first *Iroquois* village he and his servant came to, he was too fatally convinced of his error, for they were seized, stript, scourged, buffeted, and treated as prisoners of war. At this sudden change the good Father was in great amazement, and began (for he could speak

their language) to expostulate with all the powers of elocution, which were of no avail, and the only favor that his eloquence could procure him was, that instead of burning him and his companion alive, they humanely condescended to behead them with a hatchet. After my landlord had finished the story, he said, with great warmth and indignation, *Monsieur, les Iroquois sont frauduleux comme le Diable, et en voyagent j'ai toujours crainte de le rencontre*; and, from the story he had related, you will no doubt say he had very good foundation for his fears.

I am, yours, &c.

LETTER XX

Montreal, May 31st, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

BEFORE I leave this city, though there is not much leisure time on my hands, I shall communicate to you the fruit of my enquiries (to which I have applied myself this winter) respecting the advantage England derives from Canada.

It was a complaint, and perhaps not without foundation, that Canada never enriched France, and that none of its inhabitants acquired the least fortunes, but the Indian traders. As it was not the fault of the country, which has many staple commodities, from which a course of wealth might be derived, whence then is to be attributed this cause? First, from the continual state of warfare this province has been in from its very first settlement; to the oppressiveness of the government, and the rapaciousness of the clergy; from which causes (except those enterprizing people who embark in the fur trade) the inhabitants not having a stimulative motive, were content with a mere existence, and if a Canadian could but pay his tythes and duties to his priest, and lay up a little to enjoy a long tedious winter, his happiness was compleat.

But the scene is now reversed; all over the province there are saw and grist-mills, and the Canadians are now enriching themselves, by exporting lumber and grain to the West Indies and the other

provinces. As I observed before, it was not the fault of the country, for to persons industriously inclined, this country has many advantages, as after they have tilled their ground in autumn, from that time till the middle of April and the beginning of May, when they sow their crops, they have to cut down timber, and to saw it for building, shipping, and other uses, ready for exportation when the frost breaks up. Another great advantage this country possesses, is the quick vegetation, for the crop that is sown in May springs up, grows to perfection, is cut down and carried into the barns by the end of August.

Without considering the hardships and difficulties they were exposed to, the Indian trader was always looked upon with an envious eye: but now, as they are not liable to the rapacity of state and clergy, but enjoy all the privileges of our happy constitution, their industry is very great, and those winters that used to be spent in feasting and pleasure, is now employed to more useful purposes, and an Indian trader is not now a man so much to be envied.

Daily experience shews, that this province is capable of producing more resources than one. What motives of policy could it be in the French to keep the Canadians in such a state of oppression? It should seem that France was sufficiently proud in having this vast territory annexed to its crown, and content with the produce of the fur trade. But lest you think I am entering too deeply into politics,

I shall conclude, deferring to my next an account of the fur trade, which still is the greatest resource of wealth to England, but which must in process of time be annihilated from the very great destruction of the animals, which every year diminishes them so fast, and occasions their flying to remoter parts, that the trader has hundreds of leagues farther to go in search of them; the necessity, therefore of encouraging husbandry, will appear evident to you. But I see I am again running into politics, therefore adieu.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXI

Montreal, June 3d, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I NOW proceed to give you some account of the fur trade, and as in one of my former letters the nature of Indian traders were described to you and their modes of trafficking with the savages, I shall give you some little account of the beasts, whose furs they go in search of, and hope you will not think any little remarks that I may intersperse, as dictating to your superior sense and understanding, but merely ideas that occur to me whilst writing.

By the accounts most authors have given us of Canada, they describe it, upon its first discovery, to have been an immense tract of forest, serving only as an extensive haunt to wild beasts, with which it was over-run, and which had multiplied prodigiously; for those few men who did inhabit those deserts, not having any flocks or tame animals, left more room and food for those that were wandering and free, like themselves; and although there was no great variety, still there were multitudes of each species. But they, as every thing, sooner or later, in this terrestrial globe, paid tribute to the sovereignty of man; that cruel power that has been so fatal to every living creature, and the few that the natives destroyed for their food and cloathing, were of little note in such a prodigious multitude.

No sooner had our luxury led us to make use of their skins, than the natives waged a perpetual war against them, which they carried on with great eagerness, as in return for the havoc and destruction they made amongst them, they indulged in a plenty and variety of gratifications they were before unaccustomed to; and to render the war the more destructive, we assisted them with fire-arms, by the means of which great quantities of furs, and of a prodigious variety, were procured. Most of these were known in Europe, which were the same as those that came from the northern parts of our hemisphere, but they were in too small quantities to supply a great demand.

Caprice and novelty has made these furs more or less in fashion, and England has found it to be for the interest of Canada, that they should be valued at home; and that they are so with a witness, the enormous price your sister gave for a muff and tippet, is a convincing proof: here I assure you they are very dear, the commonest fur cap standing you in two guineas.

Having given you a little history of furs, I shall now describe to you some of the beasts whose skins are still in request, and first begin, with the Otter, which is so generally known in England, as to need no description; there is no other difference than that it is much larger, and its hair blacker and finer than ours, a circumstance fatal to them, as exposing them more to the pursuit of the savages.

The Pole-cat, of which there are three species, is

in great estimation among the Canadian hunters, as the hair is darker, more glossy, and more silky than those in Europe.

Even the Rat of North-America is valuable for its skin; but the two principal ones that are in the article of trade is the Oppossum and the Musk; many and ridiculous are the stories which are propagated relative to the female of the former, such among others, that of the young ones getting into the belly again through the teats, the fact is this, under its belly there is a loose skin, with a small aperture in the center, and this she can expand or depress at will; if pursued, and she thinks her young are in danger, she puts them into this bag, and runs away with them up a tree. Another singular instance of sagacity in this animal, which is seldom mentioned, is, that if pursued by other animals, such as the Tiger, Mountain-cat, &c. that can mount trees, it goes to the extremity of a bough, and suspends itself by its tail. The skin of the Musk-rat is employed for the same purposes as the Beaver, of which he seems to be a diminutive; but its most intrinsic value is for that predominant and powerful perfume it produces, and which is called after this animal.

The Ermine is about the size of a squirrel, but not so long, has the same lively eyes, keen look, and his motions are so quick, that the eye can scarcely follow them, it has a long bushy tail, which at the tip is as black as jet; what enables me to give you so exact a description of this little animal is, that the

daughter of the gentleman at whose house I lodge, has one in her possession; indeed it is the fashion for the young ladies to keep them, as ours do squirrels. One thing not a little extraordinary of this animal is, that all the winter it was white as snow, and the other day, when admiring it, I expressed a surprize in perceiving it had a yellow tint, when the young lady said, *Ah! Monsieur, au milieu de l'été c'est jaune comme d'or.* This little animal is reckoned one of the beauties of Canada, for though the sable is smaller, it is not so common.

The Martin, whose skin is the most valuable, is only to be met with in the center of the forests, far from any habitation, and although so small an animal, is a beast of prey, living entirely upon birds. It is but a foot and a half long, yet leaves a print in the snow, which appears to be the footstep of a larger animal, occasioned by its jumping along and giving the marks of both feet together: their fur is much esteemed, but is inferior to that species which are called sables, whose skins are of a shining black. Those of the Martin encrease in value from the various dyes, the deeper the tint the more valuable, and they gradually encrease from a light brown to the deep glossy black of the sable. The Martins seldom more than once in two or three years quit their recesses in these impenetrable woods, and when they do, the Canadians take it as a sign of a good winter, imagining there will be great quantities of snow, and consequently good sport in destroying them.

The Wild-cat of Canada is reckoned much smaller than those upon the northern continent of Europe, and is the same kind of animal that was called by the ancients the Lynx, of which an erroneous opinion has ever prevailed amongst the vulgar, that it is possessed of the power of piercing to death with its eyes whatever it destines for its prey, as nature had deprived it of the faculties of hearing and smelling at a distance, which mistaken notion must have arisen from this simple cause, that as this animal lives upon what game it can catch, it will pursue it to the very tops of the tallest trees, and nature having endowed it with a quicker sight than most other animals, whatever it pursues, though of ever so small a nature, it never loses sight of, let the foliage of the trees be ever so thick. The flesh of this animal is very white, and said to be well flavored, but the Indians hunt it chiefly for its skin, the hair of it being long, and of a fine light grey, but not so valuable as that of the fox.

This animal, like other natives of the frozen climates, where nature produces but few vegetables, is carniverous.

Besides the small furs, Canada supplies England with the skins of the Stag, Deer, Roebuck, the Caribou and the Elk, the latter of which is supposed to be the original of all these species. All these animals are hunted by the Canadians, but the chace of the Bear the savages have reserved to themselves, and which is their favorite sport; it seems best adapted to their warlike manners, strength and

bravery, and especially as those animals supply most of their wants.

Fearful lest you may grow tired of this heavy detail of wild beasts, I shall conclude this, reserving to my next the description of the only two that are worthy of notice, the Bear and the Beaver, the latter of which possesses all the friendly dispositions, divested of all the vices and misfortunes that await us, and which debars us from the true and real pleasures arising from the friendly and sweet intercourse that should subsist between man and man.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXII

Montreal, June 7th, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

OPPORTUNITIES almost daily occurring, I am happy to embrace them, during the little time I have to remain in this city; when I quit it, you will think me very remiss in addressing you. Let me sincerely assure you, although there will be no regular conveyance, I shall embrace every opportunity that offers.

As in my last I mentioned to you that the savages were supplied with most of their wants from the Bear, feeding upon its flesh, rubbing themselves with its grease, and cloathing themselves with its skin, it may not be amiss to give you some little account of this animal, and the singular method they have of destroying them.

As no doubt you must have seen many of them in England, I shall only give you an account of some of its particularities.

This animal is rather shy than fierce, and will seldom attack a man; on the contrary, they will fly at the sight of him, and a dog will drive them a great way. The only time they are dangerous is after having been wounded, when they quit the hollow trees they have resided in all the winter, and at the time of rutting, which is in the month of July; they are then so fierce and ill-tempered, the effects of jealousy, that they are extremely dangerous to

meet with. At this season they grow very lean, and their flesh has so disagreeable a relish, that the Indians, whose stomachs are none of the most delicate, will not touch it. Who could conceive that an animal, so unlovely in its appearance, should in the space of one month grow leaner by the *belle passion*, than after an abstinence of six months.

But the season over, he recovers his former *embonpoint*, which he is greatly assisted in regaining by the great quantity of fruits the woods abound with, and of which he is extremely greedy; grapes he is particularly fond of, climbing after them up the most lofty trees. After he has fed for some time on fruits, his flesh becomes delicious, and continues so till spring.

It is surprizing enough that this animal, although provided with so warm a fur, and not of the most delicate appearance, should take more precautions than any other to preserve itself from the cold, (this may serve as a lesson from nature, not to form our judgment of things by appearance, since every one is the best judge of his own wants;) for which purpose, when the winter sets in, he climbs up the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree, stopping up the entrance with pine branches, by which means he is sheltered from all inclemencies of the weather, and when once lodged, he seldom or ever quits his apartment during the winter, which is the more singular, it being certain that he lays up no manner of provision, and that he must require some nourishment. That he requires little food is

natural to suppose, as at the end of autumn he is very fat, takes no exercise, and almost always sleeps, and, therefore, losing little by perspiration, has very seldom occasion to go abroad in quest of it, and when he does, hastens back to his retreat. A ridiculous notion is gone abroad into the world, that during the winter the sole nourishment of the Bear is licking its paws, which, no doubt, arose from the amazing long time these animals can, either through the nourishment they receive from sleep, or idleness, go without food. Yet that such an idea should prevail, I am not surprized, as there has been an instance of one that was chained for a whole winter without either food or drink, and at the end of six months was found as fat as when first caught.

The season for hunting the bear is in winter, when the Indians force him from his habitation by setting fire to the pine branches that he has drawn together at the bottom of the hollow tree, when the smoke ascending up the trunk, drives him from his late comfortable habitation, from which he no sooner descends, than they kill him. The Indians now only destroy them to answer their own wants, as formerly they used to do for the purpose of disposing of their skins to the traders; but it was no sooner understood that Canada was stored with Beavers, than the savages, urged on by a more lucrative interest, directed their war against an animal the most harmless, who molests no living creature, and is neither carniverous nor sanguinary.

This is, I am sorry to observe, become an object of man's most earnest pursuit, and the one that the savages hunt after with the greatest eagerness and cruelty; a circumstance entirely owing to the unmerciful rapaciousness which luxury has made necessary in skins, for all the polished nations of Europe.

This animal is by nature adapted for social life, being endowed with an instinct in the preservation and propagation of its species; it is generally about three or four feet long, mostly weighing from forty to sixty pounds; the hinder feet are webbed, which enables it to swim, and in the fore feet the toes are divided; its tail is oval, very flat, and covered with scales; the head resembles that of a rat, in which are four very sharp teeth, with these it will gnaw through trees of a great circumference.

This animal is divested of turbulent passions, without a desire of doing injury to any one, free from craft, scarcely defending itself, unless it lives in society; it never bites, except when caught, and as nature has not supplied it with any weapons of defence, by a natural instinct as it were, it forms societies, and has various contrivances to secure its ease, without fighting, and to live without committing, or suffering an injury; although this peaceable, and you may say almost tame animal, enters into society, it is nevertheless independent, every want being supplied by itself, and therefore it is a slave to none. It will not serve, nor does it pretend to command, every care seems directed by an instinct,

that at the same time, as it labors for the general good, it lives for itself alone. To learn the nature of the societies of these animals, as it was related to me by my landlord, may afford you the same entertainment it did me.

In the month of June or July, they assemble from all quarters, to the number of two or three hundred, near some lake or pool of water, to build their habitations against winter, the construction of which, from the complication and manner of disposing the materials, one would be led to imagine to be beyond the capacity of any one but an intelligent being, and especially in their constructing of dams, when they cannot meet with a lake or pool; in this case they fix upon some river, when the first of their labour is to make a dam, which they generally do in the shallowest part of the stream, for that purpose felling trees with the four sharp teeth that I have already described; five or six of them will gnaw a large one through, and to mark to you the wonderful sagacity of these industrious brutes, they contrive it so that it always falls in the water: having laid this foundation, they fell smaller trees, which they roll to this great one, but what appears the most wonderful is, the manner they sink the piles in the water, to prevent the stream's carrying away the trees, they lay across. Their contrivance is this, with their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water, with their teeth they rest the stake against the bank of the river, or against the tree that lies across, and with their feet

they raise the stake and sink it with the sharp end (which these sensible animals make to it) in the hole that they have made, where it stands up; and to render these stakes or piles more secure, they interweave branches of small trees, and with their tails wisk up a kind of mortar with clay, and fill the vacant space of the interwoven branches. After this work is finished by the body at large, each one considers of some lodging for himself; an hut being built upon piles on the sides of the Lake, capable of containing from two or three to ten or fifteen, (for they divide themselves into companies, and build these huts accordingly;) which are formed with walls and partitions of about two feet thick and as many in height, arched over, and the whole so plaistered with clay, that the smallest breath of air cannot penetrate through them; each apartment is made large enough to contain two, a male and female; each hut has two entrances, one towards the land, and the other on the side towards the stream, the former for them to go into the woods to fetch provisions, and the latter to escape from their enemy, that is to say MAN, the destroyer of cities and commonwealths. The inside of their apartments has no other furniture than the flooring of grass covered with the boughs of the fir, and these animals are so cleanly, that no filth of any kind is ever seen in these apartments.

In each hut there are store houses proportionate to the number of its inhabitants; every one knows its own, and never steals from his neighbour. Each

party, that is to say, the male and female, live in their own habitations; they have no jealousies or quarrels; the provisions of the community are collected and expended without any contest, and rest satisfied with the simple food that their labors procure them. The only passion they have is that of conjugal affection, wherein a most excellent example is held forth to that all-wise and all-sufficient man, who is led away by every gust of passion and vanity.

Two of these animals, in the course of their labours in the summer months, match together, unite by inclination and reciprocal choice, and agree to pass the winter, and like too many couple who hastily enter into matrimony with equally as good motives, but forgetting what should make the happiness lasting, that of laying up a stock to guard against an inclement season.

The happy couple retire to their hut about the end of autumn, which has been observed to be no less favorable to love than spring; for if the season of flowers invites the feathered tribe to propagate in the woods, the season of fruits as powerfully excites the inhabitants of the earth in the reproduction of their species; besides, as winter gives leisure for amorous pursuits, it compensates for the advantages of other seasons.

I am this moment told that the pacquet is going to sail, and must therefore defer a further account of this wonderful and surprizing animal, from whom so many lessons of industry and morality

may be drawn, till another opportunity, and conclude with assuring you of my best wishes for your happiness and prosperity, and that I remain

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXIII

Montreal, June 8th, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I SEND this by our friend Captain F. who is going post to Quebec, from which place he will sail immediately, and as the navigation from this city to Quebec is much delayed by the various currents and other causes in the river, he will be there as soon, if not sooner, than the ship I sent my first by, in which case you may receive this before the other, which may greatly bewilder you. I therefore shall just hint to you, this is the conclusion of the history of the Beaver.

If my recollection does not deceive me, I left off in my last at describing his love, that universal passion of nature, which the Beaver seems to enjoy in the conjugal state, comparatively much happier than mankind; for when they couple and enter their huts, they never quit each other, consecrating their whole time to love, from which neither labor nor any other object can divert them.

If by chance a sun-shiny day should happen to enliven the gloomy melancholy of the season, the happy couple leave their huts to walk on the borders of the Lake, regaling themselves with some fresh bark, and breathing the salutary exhalations of the earth. At the conclusion of the winter, the mother brings forth the endearing pledges of their affection, while the father ranges the woods, al-

lured by the sweets of the spring, leaving to his little family that portion of room which he took up in his narrow cell. The Beaver generally produces two or three, which the mother suckles, nurses and trains up, for when the father is absent, she takes out the young ones, in her excursions for cray and other fish, and green bark to recruit her own strength and to feed her young, till the season of labor returns; for although these animals are so industrious as to build themselves habitations that would last them a century, they are obliged to rebuild them every year, as the first thing the traders do when they meet with any of their works, is to break down their cabins and the dam, together with their dyke.

There are various methods of taking and destroying these animals, by draining the water from their dykes, and sometimes by snares; they are very seldom shot at, for unless killed on the spot, they are lost to the huntsman, by plunging into the water wounded, when they sink to the bottom and never rise. The most certain and general mode of catching them is by setting traps in the woods, where they perceive them to have been eating the bark of the young trees; they bait these traps with fresh slips of wood, which the Beaver no sooner touches, than a great weight falls and crushes its loins, when the huntsman, who lies concealed near the spot, hastens to kill it.

No doubt but by this time you are heartily tired with so long a detail of this animal; but if I have

deviated from the common path of description, I can only say it has proceeded from these two causes, that I cannot sufficiently admire the many virtues it possesses, divested of all manner of vice, and have been lost in the contemplation of that Divine Being, who formed it with all these natural endowments.

You must pardon my making a comparison between the societies of these animals and those of a convent. If happiness may be said to dwell in both communities, it must be allowed to be by very opposite means. The happiness of one consists in following the dictates of nature; in the other, nature, the sweets of social love, and the laws of our creation, are totally destroyed! The institution of the society of the Beaver, seems solely to propagate its species; the other to annihilate it. How many, who might have dignified nature under the character of a fond mother and an affectionate wife, are lost to the world and to themselves! — they cannot help feeling tender emotions, and, in the bitterness of misery, execrate that tyrant custom, which has torn them from the embraces of happiness and chained them in cells, a prey to affections hopeless and insatiable — the idea carries me beyond myself.

What will not the feelings of humanity exclaim, when it considers that these gloomy and ferocious institutions are wasting away in all parts of Europe! Institutions not only injurious but inhuman, which, under the absurd and ridiculous notion of

making men equal to angels, robs health of its vigor, and beauty of its reward.

I am most agreeably interrupted in my serious reflections, by a visit from our friend S——, who is just arrived from New-York; he was taken prisoner in the course of last summer, by a notorious fellow of the name of Whitcomb, the same man who shot Brigadier General Gordon, the particulars of which I shall inform you in my next.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXIV

Montreal, June 12th, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN my last I mentioned to you the name of one Whitcomb, a native of Connecticut, and a great partizan of the Americans, who, after the defeat upon the Lakes, offered his service to venture through the woods, and bring in prisoner an English officer, for which purpose he stationed himself among the thickest copses that are between *La Prairé* and St. John's. The first officer who happened to pass him was Brigadier General Gordon; he was mounted on a spirited horse, and Whitcomb thinking there was little probability of seizing him, fired at and wounded him in the shoulder. The General immediately rode as fast as he could to the camp at St. John's, which he had but just reached, when with loss of blood and fatigue, he fell from his horse; some soldiers took him up and carried him to the hospital, where, after his wound was dressed, and he was a little at ease, he related the circumstance, which being immediately made known to General Carleton, a party of Indians were sent out to scour the woods, and search for Whitcomb, but in vain, as he hastened back to Ticonderoga. General Carleton, however, imagining he might be lurking about the woods, or secreted in the house of some disaffected Canadian, issued out a proclamation among the inhabitants, offering a reward of

fifty guineas to any one that would bring Whitcomb, alive or dead, to the camp.

A few days after this General Gordon died of his wound, in whose death we sincerely lamented the loss of a brave and experienced officer.

When Whitcomb returned to Ticonderoga, and informed the General who commanded there, that although he could not take an officer prisoner, he believed he had mortally wounded one, the General expressed his disapprobation in the highest terms, and was so much displeased at the transaction, that Whitcomb, in order to effect a reconciliation, offered his service to go again, professing he would forfeit his life, if he did not return with a prisoner.

He accordingly, with two other men, proceeded down Lake *Champlain*, in a canoe, to a small creek, where they secreted it, and repaired to the woods, to the same spot where Whitcomb had stationed himself before; the two men lay concealed a little way in the wood, whilst he skulked about the borders of it.

The regiment of which our friend S—— is Quarter-master, having occasion for some stores from Montreal, he was going from the campt at St. John's to procure them; he was advised not to go this road, but by way of *Chamblée*, on account of the late accident, but you know him to be a man of great bravery and personal courage, joined with uncommon strength; resolving not to go so many miles out of his road for any Whitcomb whatever, he jocosely added, that he should be very glad to

meet with him, as he was sure he should get the reward; in this, however, he was greatly mistaken, his reward being no other than that of being taken prisoner himself.

Previous to his setting out he took every precaution, having not only loaded his fusée, but charged a brace of pistols; when he came near to the woods I have already scribed, he was very cautious, but in an instant, Whitcomb and the two men he had with him sprung from behind a thick bush, and seized him before he could make the least resistance; they then took from him his fusée and pistols, tied his arms behind him with ropes, and blindfolded him.

It was three days before they reached the canoe that had been concealed, during which time they had but very scanty fare; a few hard biscuits served to allay hunger, while the fruit of the woods was a luxury! — When Whitcomb had marched him to such a distance as he thought he could not make his escape, were he at liberty, through fear of losing himself, for the greater ease on his own part, and to facilitate their march, they untied his hands, and took the cloth from his eyes. Only picture to yourself what must have been his feelings, at seeing himself in the midst of a thick wood, surrounded by three desperate fellows, and uncertain as to their intentions!

At night, when they had partaken of their scanty pittance, two out of the three used to sleep, whilst the other kept watch. The first night he slept

through fatigue; on the second, as you may naturally suppose, from his great anxiety of mind, he could not close his eyes, in the middle of which an opportunity occurred whereby he could have effected his escape, for the man whose watch it was, fell fast asleep. He has since told me how his mind wavered for a length of time, what measures to pursue; he could not bear the idea of putting them to death, though justified by the rules of war: if he escaped from them, they might in all probability retake and ill-treat him. The great hazard of all, which determined him to abide by his fate was, that by being so many miles in a tract of wood, where he could not tell what direction to take (having been blind-folded when he entered it) he might possibly wander up and down till he perished with hunger. In this restless state, he remained till daybreak, when they resumed their march, and in the evening came to the creek where the canoe was concealed; they then secured him again, put him in the canoe, and proceeded up the lake to Ticonderoga, where they arrived early the next morning. When they landed him he was again blind-folded, that he might not see their works, and thus conducted to the General, whose only motive for endeavouring to get an officer was, either by threats or intreaties, to gain information relative to our army. In this, however, he was greatly disappointed, and as he could not obtain the least intelligence from our friend, he ordered him as prisoner of war upon his parole, to some of the interior towns, from which

place, as I informed you in my last, he is just returned, as hearty and well as ever. I should not have dwelt so long on this subject, but knowing you have his welfare so much at heart, that you feel yourself interested in whatever concerns him.

I shall now conclude, but before I do so, let me congratulate you on the recovery of your health, after so alarming an illness. Good health alone sweetens life, and that you may long enjoy it, both for your own sake and that of your friends, is the ardent wish of

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXV

Camp at St. John's, June 14th, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAD scarcely finished my last, when I received orders to march to this place, and am now entering upon the hurry and bustle of an active campaign. You must not accuse me now of inattention, if you should not hear from me so frequently.

As I observed in a former letter, it was the general opinion the King's troops would not be prevented passing Lake *Champlain*, but wait our arrival at Ticonderoga; in that case the operations of the campaign will commence at Crown Point. It would be doing great injustice to those who have been stationed at this garrison during the winter, if I omitted to mention their great exertions in repairing, augmenting, and rendering fit for immediate service the *batteaux*, gun-boats, and armed vessels. The other parts of the army have been equally as industrious in establishing magazines at Montreal, Sorell and *Chamblée*, which must be effected during the frost, not only as the conveyance is easier at that time, but on account of the roads, which, by the running and melting of the snow, are generally impassable for some months.

By all the accounts that can be collected, the Americans are in great force at Ticonderoga, nearly to the amount of 12,000, and a considerable number occupy Lake George, sustained by a great

naval power, with a view, no doubt, of securing their retreat in case they should be obliged to abandon Ticonderoga.

Should the navigation of Lake *Champlain* be secured by the superiority of our naval force, the advanced corps, under the command of General Fraser, with a large body of savages and Canadians, for scouts and out-works, and the best of our engineers and artificers, are to take possession of Crown Point, and to fortify it. The intention is with a view to prevent insult from the enemy, during the time necessary for collecting stores, forming magazines and fortifying posts, all which must be accomplished previous to our proceeding in force to lay siege to Ticonderoga.

This brigade being stationed at Crown Point, as a check on the enemy, the rest of the army are to be employed in forwarding the convoys and transports of provisions, removing artillery, preparing fascines and other necessaries for artillery operations, and to commence the siege; and that the enemy during that period may not rest in tranquillity, corps of savages, supported by detachments of the light infantry, are to keep them in continual alarm within their works, at the same time to cover reconnoitering parties, both of general officers and engineers, and to obtain the best intelligence of their strength, position and design. From the great preparations that have been made during the winter, and by the vigorous exertion of the troops, who are in great health and spirits, it may reasonably be

expected that the reduction of Ticonderoga will be early in the summer, unless some misfortune, human prudence cannot foresee, should prevent it, although it is the general opinion it will be warmly contested, and that there will be much blood-shed. The Americans, when they drew the sword, must have foreseen a bloody contest, and expected all the horrors of a war, carried on as it were in their own bosoms, laying waste their fields of harvest, destroying every comfort, and introducing every misery mankind is capable of devising. But had certain persons, who were actuated by no other motives than a welfare and prosperity to both countries, directed their resolves, they would have advised a peaceable submission to the Mother Country, and easily prevented all the horrors of a civil war. America, from a number of aggregate fortunate circumstances, by slow degrees, had arisen to a state of great prosperity, and the power that she had fixed by that prosperity bids fair to be of some duration, yet, in my opinion, not to such a degree as to establish her independence; her present distressed situation, without some other favorable circumstance, must inevitably prevent the execution of that idea. I am fully persuaded in my own mind, had they but reserved their ideas of independency for half a century longer, from their increase of population and wealth, they would have fixed it without much difficulty, or even the assistance of any other power, and thus become the first nation in the world. In the present day, if they at-

tain their boasted end, it must be by the arm of some nation, to whom, for want of resources to defray the expences of their alliance, she will be in continual broils and disputes, which may perhaps finally terminate in a total subjection, and that abject slavery they so ridiculously pretend to dread from us. Should this be the case, she will regret the loss of that protection from the Mother Country, she is now treating with so much ingratitude. Leaving you to your own remarks, for no doubt you will say, "a soldier and a politician!" I shall divert your attention from the cabals of mankind, to the wonderful productions of nature, in describing to you a little animal that was brought me lately, called a flying-squirrel.

This animal takes its name from being provided with a skin, or membrane, which adheres to each side, about the breadth of three inches, extending from its hind to fore feet, where it is connected by a bony articulation; it expands this membrane like a sail, by which it is enabled to fly from one tree to another, at a great distance. Most squirrels will jump from tree to tree, when contiguous, but this animal will fly an incredible way. Its skin is very soft, and of a beautiful dark grey, with eyes large, black, and very prominent; it somewhat differs from the other squirrels in its taste, caring little for nuts, the chief and favorite food being the fresh tops of the birch. This little animal makes its bed in a very curious manner, of the moss of the same tree, in which it lies as it were buried, seldom stir-

ring from thence in the day time, unless disturbed. I came into possession of it from a little drum-boy's going up a tree after a bird's nest, who perceiving it lay in that dormitory state, seized it and brought it to me, for he had heard that I was making a collection of natural curiosities. By the bye, I beg you will inform me, in your next, if you received safe the little collection I sent you from Montreal. I have added this curious animal, and one of another species, called the ground squirrel, which is a little larger than a mouse, and most beautifully spotted like a fawn, to the collection I am now making, and hope they will be considered as tokens of friendship from

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXVI

Camp at River Bouquet, upon Lake Champlain, } *June* 23, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE have proceeded thus far, and, from all appearance, shall traverse the remainder of our way on the Lake, without meeting any opposition from the enemy, their design being, as I before mentioned to you, to dispute Ticonderoga; the intelligence from different spies and deserters fully confirm us in this opinion, who report, that they have labored hard to strengthen, and mean to dispute it most vigorously. They are now building row-gallies at Fort George, for the defence of that lake, and fortifying the road to Skenesborough.

It seems the Congress have consigned to the four New England provinces, as they are excellent axemen, and very expeditious in felling of trees, the task of supplying men and provision to oppose the progress of our forces, which they have undertaken, upon condition of being exempt from supplying General Washington's army. If that really is the case, we shall have business enough upon our hands, having four of the most powerful and rebellious provinces to deal with; they have this advantage too, that upon their frontiers, should any disaster befall them, it can be so easily recruited, both as to men and provisions.

Having proceeded thus far up the lake, I am enabled to give you some account of it, especially as we have passed the broadest part. There are many small islands dispersed in different parts, and where it is widest, you are not able to discern the opposite shore; there are several plantations on each side, but they are more numerous on the south, the north side being lofty rocky mountains. It abounds with great quantities and variety of fish; sturgeon, black bass, masquenongez, pike of an incredible size, and many others, among which is a cat-fish, which is about eighteen inches long, of a brownish cast, without scales, having a large round head, resembling that of a cat's, from which it derives its name; they have on their heads protuberances similar to the horns of a snail, and like them can elevate and depress them at pleasure, and when fully extended, are about two inches long; if in liberating one of these fish from the hook, it strikes you with one of its horns, it leaves an unaccountable and unpleasant sensation on the part affected for two or three days. Its fins are very bony and strong, like those of a perch, it commonly weighs about five or six pounds; the flesh is fat and luscious, greatly resembling the flavor of an eel.

There are at this season of the year prodigious flights of pigeons crossing the lake, of a most beautiful plumage, and in astonishing quantities.

These are most excellent eating, and that you may form some idea as to their number, at one of our encampments, the men for one day wholly sub-

sisted on them; fatigued with their flight in crossing the lake, they alight upon the first branch they can reach to, many are so weary as to drop in the water, and are easily caught; those that alight upon a bough being unable to fly again, the soldiers knock down with long poles.

During the flights of these pigeons, which cross this lake into Canada, and are continually flying about in large flocks, the Canadians find great amusement in shooting them, which they do after a very singular manner: in the day time they go into the woods, and make ladders by the side of the tall pines, which the pigeons roost on, and when it is dark they creep softly under and fire up this ladder, killing them in great abundance; they then strike a light, and firing a knot of the pitch pine, pick up those they have killed, and the wounded ones that are unable to fly. — During the flights of these pigeons, which generally last three weeks or a month, the lower sort of Canadians mostly subsist on them.

Now I am upon this subject, it reminds me of what *Monsieur Blondeaux* was continually telling me of, *le grand plaisir que j'aurai quand l'été commencera en tuant les tourtes*; adding, at the same time, with great pleasure, *amusement que le Canadien aime beaucoup*. However, as to the numbers he used always to join with this observation, I generally thought my good landlord was setting off his country to great advantage by dealing in the marvellous, and should have been impressed with that

idea, had I not been by ocular demonstration convinced to the contrary.

Not only at this encampment, but likewise at our former ones, we were under the necessity of clearing the thick underwood, and cutting down the small trees before we could encamp, during which time you are almost devoured with the musquitos, that swarm in great abundance, and are continually pestering you till the fires are lighted, when the smoke immediately disperses them.

In clearing the woods for our encampment at this place, a very favorite dog of Lord Balcarres's, of the Newfoundland breed, had a most miraculous escape; in the very instant that a heavy pine tree was falling, the dog run across, the tree fell, and crushed the poor creature into the earth; in this situation every assistance was given, and when he was extricated, he came jumping and frisking up to his master, to the surprize of every one, who naturally imagined the creature must have had all its bones broken, for when the tree fell, it shook the earth some distance round. The preservation of the dog is entirely attributed to the nature of the soil, which was sandy and pliable. I need not, add, after this event, how much his Lordship prizes his favorite dog *Batteaux*.

Two miles up this river there is a saw-mill, and a fall of water, where there is most excellent trout-fishing. You who are so fond of the diversion of angling, would find most excellent sport in this country. How I could wish you here, only for an

hour, in that employment, that I might have the happiness, for that little time, of conversing with you, to ask you a thousand questions, to hear of those who are dear to me, to —— but I must stop my reflection and my wishes together.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXVII

Camp at River Bouquet, upon Lake Champlain, } *June* 24, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THIS river derives its name from a Colonel *Bouquet*, who commanded an expedition against the Indians, whilst Canada was under the French Government, as at this place he had a conversation with them upon a treaty of peace.

It should seem as if it was the destined spot to have intercourse with Indians, for yesterday General Burgoyne had a conference with them; and as I am sensible how much our employing Indians in this war is reprobated in England, I shall give you the General's speech, and their answer, of which you may form your own opinion. When the assembly were met, the General thus addressed them, by means of an interpreter:

"*Chiefs and Warriors*,

"THE great King, our common father, and the "patron of all who seek and deserve his protection, "has considered with satisfaction the general con- "duct of the Indian tribes, from the beginning of the "troubles in America. Too sagacious and too faith- "ful to be deluded or corrupted, they have ob- "served the violated rights of the parental power "they love, and burned to vindicate them. A few "individuals alone, the refuse of a small tribe, at "the first were led astray: and the misrepresenta-

"tions, the specious allurements, the insidious "promises, and diversified plots in which the rebels "are exercised, and all of which they employed for "that effect, have served only in the end to en- "hance the honor of the tribes in general, by dem- "onstrating to the world how few and how con- "temptible are the apostates! It is a truth known "to you all, these pitiful examples excepted (and "they have probably before this day hid their faces "in shame) the collective voices and hands of the "Indian tribes over this vast continent, are on the "side of justice, of law, and the King.

"The restraint you have put upon your resent- "ment in waiting the King your father's call to "arms, the hardest proof, I am persuaded, to which "your affection could have been put, is another "manifest and affecting mark of your adherence to "that principle of connection to which you were "always fond to allude, and which is the mutual "joy and the duty of the parent to cherish.

"The clemency of your father has been abused, "the offers of his mercy have been despised, and his "farther patience would, in his eyes, become culpa- "ble, in as much as it would with-hold redress from "the most grievous oppressions in the provinces, "that ever disgraced the history of mankind. It "therefore remains for me, the General of one of "his Majesty's armies, and in this council his repre- "sentative, to release you from those bonds which "your obedience imposed — Warriors you are free "— go forth in might and valor of your cause —

"strike at the common enemies of Great Britain "and America — disturbers of public order, peace "and happiness, destroyers of commerce, parri- "cides of state."

The General then directing their attentions, by pointing to the officers, both German and British, that attended this meeting, proceeded:

"The circle round you, the chiefs of his Majesty's "European forces, and of the Princes his allies, "esteem you as brothers in the war; emulous in "glory and in friendship, we will endeavor recipro- "cally to give and to receive examples; we know "how to value, and we will strive to imitate your "perseverance in enterprize and your constancy, to "resist hunger, weariness and pain. Be it our task, "from the dictates of our religion, the laws of our "warfare, and the principles and interest of our "policy, to regulate your passions when they over- "bear, to point out where it is nobler to spare than "to revenge, to discriminate degrees of guilt, to "suspend the uplifted stroke, to chastise and not "to destroy.

"This war to you my friends is new; upon all "former occasions, in taking the field, you held "yourselves authorized to destroy wherever you "came, because every where you found an enemy. "The case is now very different.

"The King has many faithful subjects dispersed "in the provinces, consequently you have many "brothers there, and these people are more to be "pitied, that they are persecuted or imprisoned

"wherever they are discovered or suspected, and to "dissemble, to a generous mind, is a yet more griev- "ous punishment.

"Persuaded that your magnanimity of char- "acter, joined to your principles of affection to the "King, will give me fuller controul over your minds, "than the military rank with which I am invested. "I enjoin your most serious attention to the rules "which I hereby proclaim for your invariable ob- "servation during the campaign."

After answering, *Etow! Etow!* in their language signifying approbation, they appeared to pay very great attention to the interpreter, eager to catch the General's instructions.

"I positively forbid blood-shed, when you are "not opposed in arms.

"Aged men, women, children and prisoners, must "be held sacred from the knife or hatchet, even in "the time of actual conflict.

"You shall receive compensation for the prison- "ers you take, but you shall be called to account for "scalps.

"In conformity and indulgence of your customs, "which have affixed an idea of honor to such badges "of victory, you shall be allowed to take the scalps "of the dead, when killed by your fire and in fair "opposition; but on no account, or pretence, or "subtilty, or prevarication, are they to be taken "from the wounded, or even dying; and still less "pardonable, if possible, will it be held, to kill men "in that condition, on purpose, and upon a sup-

"position that this protection to the wounded "would be thereby evaded.

"Base, lurking assassins, incendiaries, ravagers "and plunderers of the country, to whatever army "they may belong, shall be treated with less re- "serve; but the latitude must be given you by "order, and I must be the judge on the occa- "sion.

"Should the enemy, on their parts, dare to coun- "tenance acts of barbarity towards those who may "fall into their hands, it shall be yours also to re- "taliate: but till this severity be thus compelled, "bear immoveable in your hearts this solid maxim, "(it cannot be too deeply impressed) that the "great essential reward, the worthy service of your "alliance, the sincerity of your zeal to the King, "your father and never-failing protector, will be "examined and judged upon the test only of your "steady and uniform adherence to the orders and "counsels of those to whom his Majesty has en- "trusted the direction and honor of his arms."

After the General had finished his speech, they all of them cried out, *Etow! Etow! Etow!* and after remaining some little time in consultation, an old Chief of the *Iroquois* rose up, and made the following answer:

"I stand up in the name of all the nations present "to assure our father, that we have attentively lis- "tened to his discourse — we receive you as our "father, because when you speak we hear the voice "of our great father beyond the great lake.

"We rejoice in the approbation you have ex-
"pressed of our behaviour.

"We have been tried and tempted by the Bos-
"tonians; but we have loved our father, and our
"hatchets have been sharpened upon our affec-
"tions.

"In proof of the sincerity of our professions, our
"whole villages, able to go to war, are come forth.
"The old and infirm, our infants and wives, alone
"remain at home.

"With one common assent, we promise a con-
"stant obedience to all you have ordered, and all
"you shall order, and may the father of days give
"you many, and success."

After the Chief of the *Iroquois* had finished, they all as before cried out, *Etow! Etow! Etow!* and the meeting broke up.

One of the General's Aid-de-Camps informed me, that the General was highly pleased to find the Indians so tractable, hoping the essential service to be expected, would be obtained in employing them. It is through the friendship of Captain****, who took the speeches down, that I am enabled to send them to you.

Orders being given that the army is to embark to-morrow at day-break, to proceed up the lake, and having many things to adjust, I hope you will pardon my making a hasty conclusion, and remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXVIII

Camp at Button-Mole-Bay, upon Lake Champlain, } *June* 24, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AFTER the meeting of the Indians at river *Bouquet*, the General ordered them some liquor, and they had a war-dance, in which they throw themselves in various postures, every now and then making most hideous yells; as to their appearance, nothing more horrid can you paint to your imagination, being dressed in such an *outre* manner, some with the skins of bulls with the horns upon their heads, others with a great quantity of feathers, and many in a state of total nudity: there was one among them at whose modesty I could not help smiling, and who, rather than be divested of any covering, had tied a blackbird before him. Joined to these strange dresses, and added to the grotesque appearance, they paint their faces of various colors, with a view to inspire an additional horror. It is almost incredible to think what a prodigious degree of conceit and foppery reigns amongst the savages in decorating their persons, perhaps not inferior to that by which alone some of our pretty fellows of the present age so conspicuously distinguish themselves. The following striking instance of it, several other officers, as well as myself, were eye-witnesses to, and it afforded us no small entertainment:

In our way to their encampment, we observed a

young Indian who was preparing for the war-dance, seated under a *wigwam*, with a small looking-glass placed before him, and surrounded with several papers, filled with different paints. At our stopping to observe him, he was at first a little disconcerted, and appeared displeased, but soon after proceeded to adorn himself. He first smeared his face with a little bear's grease, then rubbed in some vermillion, then a little black, blue, and green paints, and having viewed himself for some time in the glass, in a rage he wiped it all off, and began again, but with no better success, still appearing dissatisfied. We went on to the council, which lasted near two hours, and on our return found the Indian in the same position, and at the same employment, having nearly consumed all his stock of colors! What a pity it is the ladies in England, adepts in this art, have not such a variety of tints to exercise their genius with! — in my mind, if they must paint, the more ridiculous they appear, the better.

Bear's grease, indeed, would not be a very delicate perfume, but no matter —— if nature must be patched up, it little signifies with what! —— I could laugh at the streaks on an Indian, but am struck with contempt at the airs put on by your flirts, from a penny-worth of carmine, and touched with pity when *sixty* would assume the glow of *fifteen*, through a false shame, or a childish want of admiration!

An Indian's idea of war consists in never fighting in an open field, but upon some very extraordinary

occasion, for they consider this method as unworthy an able warrior, and as an affair in which fortune governs, more than prudence or courage.

They are of essential service in either defending or invading a country, being extremely skilful in the art of surprizing, and watching the motions of an enemy.

On a secret expedition they light no fire to warm themselves, nor prepare their victuals, but subsist merely on the miserable pittance of some of their meal mixed with water; they lie close to the ground all day, and only march in the night; while halting to rest and refresh themselves, scouts are sent out on every side to reconnoitre the country, and beat up every place where they suspect an enemy can lie concealed. Two of the principal things that enable them to find out their enemies, is the smoke of their fires, which they smell at a vast distance, and their tracks, in the discovery and distinguishing of which they are possessed of a sagacity equally astonishing, for they will discern by the footsteps, that to us would appear extremely confused, nearly the number of men, and the length of time since they passed; this latter circumstance was confirmed to me by an officer, who has the superintending of their tribes. Being out upon a scout with them, they discerned some footsteps, when the Indians told him that seven or eight people had passed that way, and that only two or three days since: they had not gone far, before they came to a plantation with a house upon it, and as is the cus-

tom with the Indians, ran up to it, and surprized a scouting party of the Americans, consisting of seven, who had come there the over-night.

In travelling through the woods, they carefully observe the trees, especially the tall pines, which are for the most part void of foliage, on the branches that are exposed to the north wind, the trunk on that side having the bark extremely rugged, by which they ascertain the direction to be taken; and for the more easy discovery of their way back again, their tomahawks are continually blazing the trees, which is cutting off a small piece of the bark, and as they march along they break down the underwood.

Every Indian is a hunter, and their manner of making war is of the same nature, only changing the object, by skulking, surprizing and killing those of their own species, instead of the brute creation.

There is an indisputable necessity of having Indians, where Indians are employed against you, unless we had men enough of our own trained up in that sort of military exercise, as our European discipline is of little avail in the woods against savages.

The reason of my dwelling so much on the subject of Indians, is because I am sensible how repugnant it is to the feelings of an Englishman to employ them, and how much their cruelty and barbarity has been exaggerated.

They fight, as those opposed against them fight; we must use the same means as our enemies, to be but on an equal footing with them. I often reflect on that laconic speech a great and gallant officer

made to his men, in the last war, previous to their going to battle, "there, my brave lads, there's the "enemy, and, by God, if you do not kill them, "they'll kill you."

There is a very great natural curiosity upon Lake *Champlain*; I am led to imagine that it was originally two lakes. About the center of it the land contracts to such a degree, that it appears as if the rock had been separated by an earthquake; the passage between what are now two rocks, was but just wide enough for our large ships to pass through, and that only with a fair wind, on account of the current. You'll allow the place to be very justly named Split-Rock.

This bay, where our present encampment is, lies on the south side of the lake, and derives its name from the pebbles, of which great abundance are thrown up on the shores, the exact form of a button-mould, and where those of wood or horn could not be procured, would be no bad substitute.

Just before we entered this bay, there came on a most violent and unexpected squall, occasioned by the land winds blowing from the top of the high mountains on the north side of the lake; it was but of short duration, but very terrible while it lasted. You will form some idea how powerful, and with what violence it blows from these mountains, from the following circumstance: A small brig belonging to the fleet, with very little sail, was in an instant laid flat on her side, and the crew were obliged to cut away the masts, to make her rise again. The

lake was vastly agitated, you may easily judge how very dangerous it must have been to the small *batteaux*, which are constructed with flat bottoms, and quite ungovernable when it blows hard. Though the men who rowed the *batteaux* in which I was were continually relieved, it was with much difficulty they could bring her into this bay, their strength being almost exhausted. However, the whole brigade got safe, except two *batteaux* that were swamped just as they got close in shore, but as it was not out of a man's depth, no lives were lost.

During this storm I dreaded much for the fate of the Indians in their birch canoes, whom I thought must have inevitably been sunk; upon reflection, indeed, they did not seem to be in such personal danger, as both male and female, above the state of infancy, are eternally in the water; to the surprize of every one, however, their canoes rose to every wave, and floated like a cork, which must be entirely owing to the lightness of their construction; this lightness obliged them to remain some time upon the lake after we had landed, lest the waves should dash their canoes against the shore and destroy them.

I omitted to mention in my last, that at the mouth of the river *Bouquet* there is a small island, on which were found several young fawns, where the does had swam across to drop them, as if by a natural instinct sensible that the buck would destroy her young. A soldier of the company, who

had been on this island, got one, which he presented to his Captain; it was beautifully marked, and so young, that it could scarcely walk; we put it on board the *batteaux*, but during the storm it was washed overboard, and every effort to save it proved ineffectual, without hazarding the lives of those in the *batteaux*.

Every day, as Addison says, grows

"Big with the fate of Cato and of Rome."

To-morrow we embark from this place to Crown Point, where our operations commence against the enemy. Rest assured I shall embrace every opportunity of sending you the particulars of our proceeding.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXIX

Camp at Crown Point, June 30, 1777

My dear friend,

WE are now within sight of the enemy, and their watch-boats are continually rowing about, but beyond the reach of cannon shot. Before I proceed farther, let me just relate in what manner the army passed the lake, which was by brigades, generally advancing from seventeen to twenty miles a day, and regulated in such a manner, that the second brigade should take the encampment of the first, and so on successively, for each brigade to fill the ground the other quitted; the time for departure was always at day-break.

One thing appeared to me very singular, which I am not philosopher enough to account for; in sailing up the lake, on all the islands and points of land, the water seemed to separate the trees from the land, and to pass in a manner through them, having the appearance of small brush wood, at a very little heighth from the water; nor do the trees appear to come in contact with the land, till you approach within two or three miles of the object, when they show themselves to be distinctly joined.

I cannot forbear picturing to your imagination one of the most pleasing spectacles I ever beheld. When we were in the widest part of the lake, whose beauty and extent I have already described, it was remarkably fine and clear, not a breeze stirring,

when the whole army appeared at one view in such perfect regularity, as to form the most compleat and splendid regatta you can possibly conceive. A sight so novel and pleasing, could not fail of fixing the admiration and attention of every one present.

In the front, the Indians went with their birch canoes, containing twenty or thirty in each, then the advanced corps in a regular line, with the gun-boats, then followed the Royal George and Inflexible, towing large booms, which are to be thrown across two points of land, with the other brigs and sloops following; after them the first brigade in a regular line, then the Generals Burgoyne, Phillips, and Riedesel in their pinnaces; next to them were the second brigade, followed by the German brigades, and the rear was brought up with the sutlers and followers of the army. Upon the appearance of so formidable a fleet, you may imagine they were not a little dismayed at Ticonderoga, for they were apprized of our advance, as we every day could see their watch-boats. We had, it is certain, a very strong naval force, but yet it might have been greatly in the power of the Americans to have prevented our passing the lake so rapidly as we have done, especially as there are certain parts of it where a few armed vessels might have stopped us for some time: but it is an invariable maxim with the Americans, of which there are numberless instances in the last campaign, never to face an enemy but with very superior advantages, and the most evident signs and prospects of success.

The army is now assembling in order to commence the siege, as soon as the artillery stores arrive from Canada, which are daily expected. People in England, whose rapidity of ideas keep pace with their good wishes, little imagine that the distance from this place to Canada is ninety miles, therefore the time it takes to bring forward stores is necessarily considerable. To the great praise of General Carleton, however, very little delay has yet occurred, for he forwards the stores very expeditiously, and however ill-treated many people suppose he is, or however he may conceive himself so, in not having the command of this army, after being the commander in the last campaign, he lets no pique or ill-will divert him from doing all the real service in his power to his King and country.

In a former letter I mentioned, that we were to intrench at this place: but however measures may be concerted with the utmost judgment and precaution for succeeding, yet when an army has advanced to the place they are to invest, the General is often convinced, that neither the description of others, nor the delineation of maps and charts have been so perfect in every particular, as not to make some change in the intended dispositions necessary, which is exactly our present situation, as orders are given out for us to embark to-morrow. What will be the future operations of the army, after the reduction of Ticonderoga, it is impossible to say, but some vigorous measures, no doubt, are to be pursued, as an extract from the General's orders will

point out to you. It is generally believed, however, that the army is to force its way into Albany. The extract is as follows:

"This army embarks to-morrow to approach the "enemy. The services required of this particular "expedition, are critical and conspicuous. During "our progress occasions may occur, in which nor "difficulty, nor labor, nor life are to be regarded. "This army must not retreat." From the last sentence, it is a general and fixed opinion throughout the whole army, that vigorous exertions are to be made against any opposition, however superior, we may encounter. For such an expedition the army are in the best condition that can be expected or wished, the troops in the highest spirits, admirably disciplined, and remarkably healthy.

I omitted to mention, that shortly after the consultation with the Indians at the river *Bouquet*, the General issued out a manifesto, which was circulated in the frontiers and province of Connecticut, calculated to spread terror among the most rebellious, to enforce upon their minds an impression of fear, of the cruel operations of savages, whom he now could restrain, and their eagerness to be let loose; at the same time, in the most expressive language, informing them, that powerful forces were co-operating, both by sea and land, to crush this unnatural rebellion; inveighing strongly on the conduct of the present Governors and Governments here as being the cause of its continuance, and exhibiting, in the most lively manner, their injustice, cruelty, persecu-

tion and tyranny; encouraging those whose disposition and abilities would assist in redeeming their country from slavery, and re-establishing its former government; offering protection and security to those who continued peaceable in their habitations, and denouncing all the calamities and outrages of war to such as should persevere in hostilities. How far it may operate in this part of the continent, I have my fears, as the New-England Provinces are the most violent in their principles of rebellion.

During our stay at this place, which has been only three days, the rear of the army is come up, and the magazines and hospitals are established, therefore the operations against Ticonderoga will immediately commence.

I am truly sensible how averse you were to my entering the army, but when once immerged, it would be folly in the extreme to say, that I wished to retract. Although I am not an enthusiast in religion, still you know I ever held in the greatest veneration the supreme Disposer of Events, and am not insensible of his protecting hand, a soldier has many hair-breadth escapes; but should it be the fate of war, and the will of Providence that I should fall, I shall die with the pleasing reflection of having served my King and country. If I survive, you may rest assured of my embracing every opportunity to inform you of my destiny, and how truly I am,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXX

Camp before Ticonderoga, July 5, 1777

My dear friend,

WE are now arrived before a place that is not more talked of this war than the last, on account of the memorable siege that then happened, in which that gallant officer was slain, who, could his immortal spirit rise from its cold mansion, would no doubt be highly pleased to see his offspring, one placed at the head of naval line, and the other of the army, advancing the pleasing task of restoring peace to a deluded people, led on by a set of factious men, to a most unnatural rebellion.

By the scouting parties just returned we learn, that there is a brigade which occupies the old French lines on a height, to the north of the fort of Ticonderoga; the lines are in good repair, with several intrenchments behind them, supported by a block-house; they have another post at the saw-mills, the foot of the carrying-place to Lake George, and a block-house upon an eminence above the mills, together with a block-house and hospital at the entrance of the lake.

Upon the right of the lines, between them and the old fort, are two new block-houses, and a considerable battery close to the water's edge. But it seems the Americans have employed their utmost industry where they are in the greatest force, upon Mount Independence, which is extremely lofty and

circular. On the summit of the mount they have a star fort made of pickets, well supplied with artillery, and a large square of barracks within it; that side of the hill which projects into the lake is well intrenched, and has a strong abattis close to the water, which is lined with heavy artillery pointing down the lake, flanking the water battery, and sustained by another about half way up the hill. Fortified as the enemy are, nothing but a regular siege can dispossess them.

There has been a skirmish with the Indians and a small party of the enemy, who were reconnoitering, in which they were driven back into their lines; the Indians were so rash as to pursue them within reach of their cannon, when several were killed and wounded. Upon the firing of their artillery, the brigade were ordered under arms, and shortly after the Indians brought the killed and wounded upon litters, covered with leaves. It was thought this would have been a check upon them, as the first that fell was of their party, but it seems rather to stimulate their valor.

As our friend M—— was looking through a brass reflecting telescope at the enemy's works, he cried out shot, and we had scarcely dropt down, before we were covered with dust. He saw them run out the cannon of the embrasure, and what I imagine contributed to their pointing them, was the reflection of the sun upon the telescope. After they had discovered our situation, they fired several shot, but without doing any mischief.

A very singular circumstance has occured at this encampment. This morning, a little after day-break, the centinel of the picquet guard saw a man in the woods, reading a book, whom the centinel challenged, but being so very intent on his studies, he made no reply, when the soldier ran up to, and seized him; upon waking from his reverie, he told the centinel he was Chaplain to the 47th regiment, but it being a suspicious circumstance, he was detained till the soldier was relieved, who took him to the Captain of the picquet, from whence he was immediately sent to General Fraser's quarters. General Fraser supposing it was a finesse, for the 47th regiment was stationed two or three miles in the rear, and the General thinking himself perfectly acquainted with every clergyman in the army, began to make several enquiries concerning the Americans, at which he was more perplexed, and still persisted in his first story. What greatly contributed to these mistakes, the man's appearance was not altogether in his favor, being in dishabille. General Fraser not being able to make any thing of him, sent him with an officer to General Burgoyne, who had no knowledge of him. To clear up the matter, the Colonel of the 47th regiment was sent for, who informed the General that he was the gentleman who had delivered a letter from General Carleton, and had only joined the regiment from Canada the preceding evening. The studious gentleman little foresaw to what dangers he had exposed himself by his morning ramble, till he was stopped by the centinel.

You will naturally think he had enough to cure him from these perambulations in the woods.

About three days since a great smoke was observed towards Lake George, and the scouts brought in a report, that the enemy had set fire to the farthest block-house, had abandoned the saw-mills, and that a considerable body was advancing from the lines towards a bridge, upon a road which led from the saw-mills to the right of our encampment. A detachment from our corps, supported by the second brigade, and some light artillery, under the command of General Phillips, were then ordered to proceed to Mount Hope, to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and to take advantage of any post they might either abandon or be driven from.

The Indians under the command of Captain Frazer, supported by his company of marksmen, (which were volunteer companies from each regiment of the British) were directed to make a circuit on the left of our encampment, to cut off the retreat of the enemy to their lines: this design, however, was frustrated by the impetuosity of the Indians, who attacked too soon, which enabled the enemy to retire with little loss. General Phillips took Mount Hope, which cut off the enemy from any communication with Lake George; after which we quitted our former encampment, and occupied this post, which is now in great force, there being the whole of General Fraser's corps, the first British brigade, and two brigades of artillery. The enemy have cannonaded the camp, but without effect, and continued

the same the next day, while the army were employed in getting up the artillery tents, baggage, and provisions, during which time we never fired a single cannon.

This day Luitenant Twiss, the commanding engineer, was ordered to reconnoitre Sugar-Hill, on the south side of the communication from Lake George into Lake Champlain, part of which the light-infantry had taken possession of last night; he reported this hill to have the entire command of the works and buildings, both at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, of about 1400 yards from the former, and 1500 from the latter; that the ground might be levelled so as to receive cannon, and that the road to convey them, though extremely difficult, might be accomplished in twenty-four hours. This hill also commanded the bridge of communication, and from it they could see the exact situation of their vessels; and what was another very great advantage, from the possession of this post, the enemy, during the day, could not make any material movement or preparation, without being discovered, and even their numbers counted. Upon this report of Lieutenant Twiss, it was determined a battery should be raised on this post, for light twenty-four pounders, medium twelves, and eight inch howitzers, which very arduous undertaking is now carrying on so rapidly, that there is little doubt but it will be compleated and ready to open upon the enemy to-morrow morning. Great praise is due to the zeal and activity of Gen-

eral Phillips, who has the direction of this operation: he has as expeditiously conveyed cannon to the summit of this hill, as he brought it up in that memorable battle at Minden, where, it is said, such was his anxiousness in expediting the artillery, that he split no less than fifteen canes in beating the horses; at which battle he so gallantly distinguished himself, by the management of his artillery, as totally to rout the French.

I am happy to embrace the opportunity of sending this by a sutler, who is returning down the lake to St. John's. Be assured you shall know every event of this important siege, by the first conveyance that presents itself. Adieu.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXXI

Camp at Skenesborough, July 12, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

NO doubt, after so much as I have repeatedly mentioned to you in my former letters relative to Ticonderoga, and the vigorous defence it was universally supposed the enemy would make, you will be greatly surprized to receive a letter from me, at so great a distance beyond that important post; fully to explain to you the manner of the Americans abandoning it, and our progress to this place, I must proceed a little methodically in my description.

After we had gained possession of Sugar-Hill, on the 5th instant, that very evening we observed the enemy making great fires; it was then generally thought they were meditating an attack, or that they were retreating, which latter circumstance really was the case, for about day-break intelligence was brought to General Fraser, that the enemy were retiring, when the picquets were ordered to advance, which the brigades, as soon as they were accoutred, were to follow.

They were soon ready, and marched down to the works; when we came to the bridge of communication, we were obliged to halt till it was sufficiently repaired for the troops to pass, as the enemy, in their abandoning the works, had destroyed it, and had left four men, who were, upon the approach of our army, to have fired off the cannon of a large

battery that defended it, and retire as quick as possible. No doubt this was their intention, as they left their lighted matches close to the cannon.

Had these men obeyed their instructions, they would, situated as our brigade was, have done great mischief; but, allured by the sweets of plunder and liquor, instead of obeying their orders, we found them dead drunk by a cask of Madeira. This battery, however, had, through the folly of an Indian, nearly been productive of fatal consequences to the 9th regiment, for just at the time it was passing the bridge, as he was very curious in examining every thing that came in his way, he took up a match that lay on the ground, with some fire still remaining in it, when a spark dropping upon the priming of a cannon, it went off, loaded with all manner of combustibles, but it fortunately happened the gun was so elevated, no mischief ensued.

In a short time after the bridge was rendered passable, our brigade crossed, and we advanced up to the picqueted fort, where the British colours were instantly hoisted. The Americans certainly had planned some scheme, which proved abortive, and which was left perhaps to the commission of those men who remained behind, for the ground was strewed all over with gunpowder, and there were likewise several casks of it with the tops struck out.

After we had remained some little time in the fort, orders came for the advanced corps to march in pursuit of the enemy, who, we were informed,

had gone to Huberton, in order to harrass their rear. We marched till one o'clock, in a very hot and sultry day, over a continued succession of steep and woody hills; the distance I cannot ascertain, but we were marching very expeditiously from four in the morning to that time.

On our march we picked up several stragglers, from whom General Fraser learnt that the rear-guard of the enemy was composed of chosen men, commanded by a Colonel Francis, who was reckoned one of their best officers.

During the time the advanced corps halted to refresh, General Riedesel came up, and after consulting with General Fraser, and making arrangements for continuing the pursuit, we marched forward again three miles nearer the enemy, to an advantageous situation, where we lay that night on our arms.

At three in the morning our march was renewed, and about five we came up with the enemy, who were busily employed in cooking their provisions.

Major Grant, of the 24th regiment, who had the advanced guard, attacked their picquets, which were soon driven in to the main body. From this attack we lament the death of this very gallant and brave officer, who in all probability fell a victim to the great disadvantages we experience peculiar to this unfortunate contest, those of the rifle-men. Upon his coming up with the enemy, he got upon the stump of a tree to reconnoitre, and had hardly given the men orders to fire, when he was struck by

a rifle ball, fell off the tree, and never uttered another syllable.

The light infantry then formed, as well as the 24th regiment, the former of which suffered very much from the enemy's fire, particularly the companies of the 29th and 34th regiments. The grenadiers were ordered to form to prevent the enemy's getting to the road that leads to Castle-Town, which they were endeavouring to do, and were repulsed, upon which they attempted their retreat by a very steep mountain to Pittsford. The grenadiers scrambled up an ascent which appeared almost inaccessible, and gained the summit of the mountain before them; this threw them into great confusion, and that you may form some idea how steep the ascent must have been, the men were obliged to sling their firelocks and climb up the side, sometimes resting their feet upon the branch of a tree, and sometimes on a piece of the rock; had any been so unfortunate as to have missed his hold, he must inevitably been dashed to pieces.

Although the grenadiers had gain'd the summit of this mountain, and the Americans had lost great numbers of their men, with their brave commander Col. Francis, still they were far superior in numbers to the British, and the contest remained doubtful till the arrival of the Germans, when the Americans fled on all sides, whose numbers amounted to 2000; they were opposed only by 850 British, as it was near two hours before the Germans made their appearance.

General Riedesel had come to the field of action a considerable time before his troops, and in the course of the action passing by him, I could not help feeling for his situation, for the honor of a brave officer, who was pouring forth every imprecation against his troops, for their not arriving at the place of action time enough to earn the glories of the day.

Upon their arrival, we were apprehensive, by the noise we heard, that a reinforcement had been sent back from the main body of the American army for the support of their rear-guard, for they began singing psalms on their advance, and at the same time kept up an incessant firing, which totally decided the fate of the day; but even after the action was over, there were lurking parties hovering about the woods.

During the battle the Americans were guilty of such a breach of all military rules, as could not fail to exasperate our soldiers. The action was chiefly in woods, interspersed with a few open fields. Two companies of grenadiers, who were stationed in the skirts of the wood, close to one of these fields, to watch that the enemy did not outflank the 24th regiment, observed a number of the Americans, to the amount of near sixty, coming across the field, with their arms clubbed, which is always considered to be a surrender as prisoners of war. The grenadiers were restrained from firing, commanded to stand with their arms, and shew no intention of hostility: when the Americans had got within ten yards, they in an instant

turned round their musquets, fired upon the grenadiers, and run as fast as they could into the woods; their fire killed and wounded a great number of men, and those who escaped immediately pursued them, and gave no quarter.

This war is very different to the last in Germany; in this the life of an individual is sought with as much avidity as the obtaining a victory over an army of thousands, of which the following is a melancholy instance:

After the action was over, and all firing had ceased for near two hours, upon the summit of the mountain I have already described, which had no ground any where that could command it, a number of officers were collected to read the papers taken out of the pocket book of Colonel Francis, when Captain Shrimpton, of the 62d regiment, who had the papers in his hand, jumped up and fell, exclaiming, "he was severely wounded;" we all heard the ball whiz by us, and turning to the place from whence the report came, saw the smoke: as there was every reason to imagine the piece was fired from some tree, a party of men were instantly detached, but could find no person, the fellow, no doubt, as soon as he had fired, had slipt down and made his escape.

About five o'clock in the afternoon, the grenadiers were ordered from the summit of the mountain to join the light infantry and 24th regiment, on an advantageous situation; in our cool moments, in descending, every one was astonished how he had ever gained the summit. — For my own part, it ap-

peared as if I should never reach the bottom; but my descent was greatly retarded by conducting Major Ackland, who was wounded in the thigh.

In this action I found all manual exercise is but an ornament, and the only object of importance it can boast of was that of loading, firing, and charging with bayonets: as to the former, the soldiers should be instructed in the best and most expeditious method. Here I cannot help observing to you, whether it proceeded from an idea of self preservation, or natural instinct, but the soldiers greatly improved the mode they were taught in, as to expedition, for as soon as they had primed their pieces, and put the cartridge into the barrel, instead of ramming it down with their rods, they struck the butt end of their piece upon the ground, and bringing it to the *present*, fired it off. The confusion of a man's ideas during the time of action, brave as he may be, is undoubtedly great; several of the men, upon examining their muskets, after all was over, found five or six cartridges, which they were positive to the having discharged.

Deferring the remainder of the particulars of this action, with our march to this place, I remain

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXXII

Camp at Skenesborough, July 14, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE confusion of the enemy on their retreat was very great, as they were neither sensible where they fled, nor by whom they were conducted, after Colonel Francis was killed, when they took to the mountains.

Exclusive of 200 men that were killed, and near 600 wounded, many of whom died in endeavouring to get off, the loss on our side has been very inconsiderable. After the action was over, a Colonel with the remains of his regiment, to the amount of 230, came and surrendered himself prisoner.

The advantages of the ground was wholly on the side of the Americans, added to which the woods were so thick, that little or no order could be observed in advancing upon the enemy, it being totally impossible to form a regular line; personal courage and intrepidity was therefore to supply the place of military skill and discipline. The native bravery of our countrymen could not be more resolutely displayed than in this action, nor more effectually exerted. It was a trial of the activity, strength and valor of every man that fought. At the commencement of the action the enemy were every where thrown into the greatest confusion, but being rallied by that brave officer, Colonel Francis, whose death, though an enemy, will ever be re-

gretted by those who can feel for the loss of a gallant and brave man, the fight was renewed with the greatest degree of fierceness and obstinacy. Both parties engaged in separate detachments unconnected with each other, and the numbers of the enemy empowered them to front flank and rear. Some of these detachments, notwithstanding an inferiority, most resolutely defended themselves, and the fate of the day was undecided till the arrival of the Germans, who, though late, came in for a share of the glory, in dispersing the enemy in all quarters.

Having given you the particulars of this engagement, permit me, as it is the first I ever was in, to make my remarks in the time of conflict.

During the action, every apprehension and idea of danger forsakes the mind, which becomes more animated and determined the nearer the time of attack approaches. Every soldier feels inspired with an impatient ardor, as if he conceived the fate of the battle would be decided by the level of his musquet, or the point of his bayonet: but the conflict once over, the mind returns to its proper sense of feeling, and deeply must its sensibility be wounded, when the eye glances over the field of slaughter, where so many brave fellows, who a few hours before were in high spirits and full of the vigor of life, are laid low in the dust, and the ear continually pierced with the deep sighs and groans of the wounded and dying. Even the joy rising in the bosom at the sight of surviving friends and brother

officers, is saddened by the recollection of those who fell. Such, my dear friend, are the sensations of the mind, before and after a battle.

That soldiers have many hair-breadth escapes, I am sure was never more fully verified, than in regard to Lord Balcarres, who commands the light infantry; he had near thirty balls shot through his jacket and trowsers, and yet only received a small graze on the hip. Others were equally as unfortunate, for upon the very first attack of the light infantry, Lieutenant Haggit received a ball in each of his eyes, and Lieutenant Douglas, of the 29th regiment, as he was carried off the field wounded, received a ball directly through his heart. These extraordinary events may in some measure be accounted for, as the least resistance of a musquet ball will give it a direction almost incredible: when the Surgeon came to examine the wound of a poor American, it appeared that the ball had entered on his left side, and having traversed between the skin and the back bone, came out on the opposite side.

When General Fraser had posted the corps in an advantageous state of defence, and made some log works, as he expected we should be attacked, his next thoughts were, how to refresh the men after the fatigues of the day, provisions being unable to be forwarded, on account of the country's being very hilly; a detachment was sent to shoot some bullocks that were running in the woods, these were distributed in ratios to the men, which they eat,

dressed upon wood ashes, without either bread or salt.

Just at this time chance supplied the officers with a very acceptable, though singular substitute for bread to their beef: an officer who was at Ticonderoga, by way of a joke, sent his brother a great quantity of gingerbread that was taken at that place, which he now distributed among the officers, and as General Fraser shared the same as the men, he sent part of it to him as a present.

We laid upon our arms all night, and the next morning sent back the prisoners to Ticonderoga, amounting to near 250. A very small detachment could be spared to guard them, as General Fraser expected the enemy would have reinforcements from the main body of their army, and oppose his crossing a wide creek, after we had passed Castletown. He told the Colonel of the Americans, who had surrendered himself, to inform the rest of the prisoners, that if they attempted to escape, no quarter would be shewn them, and that those who might elude the guard, the Indians would be sent in pursuit of, and scalp them.

Leaving the sick and wounded under the care of a subaltern's guard, to protect them from the Indians, or scouting parties of the enemy, the brigade marched to Castletown, where the men were recruited with some fresh provisions and a gill of rum; after this they proceeded on their march to the creek, to cross over which the pioneers were obliged to fell some trees; only one man could pass over at

a time, so that it was near dark before the whole of the brigade had crossed, when we had seven miles to march to this place.

Major Shrimpton, who I told you was wounded upon the hill, rather than remain with the wounded at Huberton, preferred marching with the brigade, and on crossing this creek, having only one hand to assist himself with, was on the point of slipping in, had not an officer who was behind him caught hold of his cloaths, just as he was falling. His wound was through his shoulder, and as he could walk, he said he would not remain to fall into the enemy's hands, as it was universally thought the sick and wounded must. Very fortunately, however, for them, they met with no molestation, and three days after were conveyed in litters to Ticonderoga, as the road was impassable for any sort of carriage.

After we had crossed the creek, General Fraser was perfectly easy in his mind concerning an attack, which he had been apprehensive of the whole day, and gave orders to make the best of our way to this encampment, which was through a road where every step we took was nearly up to the knees. After a march of near thirty miles, in an excessive woody and bad country, every moment in expectation of being attacked, till we had crossed the creek, you must naturally suppose we underwent a most severe fatigue, both of mind and body.

For my own part, I readily own to you, that the exertions of the day had so far wearied me, that drinking heartily of rum and water, I laid down in

my bear-skin and blanket, and did not awake till twelve the next day. But that I may not fatigue you as much as I then felt myself, or make you fall asleep, I shall conclude with subscribing myself,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXXIII

Camp at Skenesborough, July 14, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE are still encamped at this place, waiting the arrival of provisions, *batteaux*, and many other incumbrances, armies in general are but very seldom troubled with, and is a hindrance which that to the southward has not to encounter, for whatever want of water carriage they meet with, the navy can always act in co-operation with them. I mention this, that you may not be surprized at our not making such rapid marches, and over-running the country, as they in all probability will.

The army are all assembled at this place, and in a few days the advanced corps march to Fort Edward. You would like to learn the movements of the other part of the army, after we got possession of Ticonderoga; I was not with them, but you shall know what I have been able to collect.

After a passage had been made, with great difficulty, but with much expedition, for the gun-boats and vessels to pass the bridge of communication, between Ticonderoga and Fort Independence, (which had cost the Americans much labor and expence in constructing) the main body of the army pursued the enemy by South Bay, within three miles of this place, where they were posted in a stockaded fort, with their armed gallies. The first brigade was disembarked with an intention of cut-

ting off the enemy's retreat, but their hasty flight rendered that manœuvre useless. The gun-boats and frigates pursued the armed vessels, and when the enemy arrived at the falls of this place, they made a defence for some time, after which they blew up three of their vessels, and the other two struck.

On the enemy's retreat they set fire to the fort, dwelling-house, saw-mill, iron-works, and all the building on this plantation, destroyed the *batteaux* and retired to Fort Edward.

An officer who came up at the time of the conflagration, assured me he never saw so tremendous a sight; for exclusive of the shipping, building, &c. the trees all up the side of the hanging rock, had caught fire, as well as at the top of a very lofty hill. The element appeared to threaten universal destruction.

The 9th regiment was sent to take post at Fort Ann, to observe the motion of the enemy, as well as to dislodge them: but intelligence having been received that they had been greatly reinforced, Colonel Hill sent word to General Burgoyne, that he should not retire with his regiment but maintain his ground; the other two regiments of the brigade, with two pieces of artillery, were ordered to support them, with General Phillips, who took the command; but a violent storm of rain, which lasted the whole day, prevented their getting to their relief so soon as was intended, which gave the 9th regiment an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, in a

most gallant and signal manner, by repulsing an attack of six times their number, and the enemy not being able to force them in front, endeavored to turn their flank, which from their great superiority was much to be feared; when Colonel Hill thought it necessary to change his position in the very height of the action, which was executed with great steadiness and bravery. In this manner the fight was carried on for a considerable length of time, the British troops maintaining their ground, and the enemy gradually retiring, were at last totally repulsed, and fled to Fort Edward, setting fire to Fort Ann, but left a saw-mill and block-house standing, which was immediately taken possession of by a party of the 9th regiment.

After we had abandoned this block-house and saw mills, and proceeded to Fort Edward, the enemy returned and set fire to it; and as you desire me to send you a few drawings of such things as I might think best worth taking a sketch of, I have sent a representation of the block-house and saw mill, as being a very romantic view.

The 9th regiment have acquired great honor in this action; though it lasted so long, and was fought under such disadvantages, they have sustained very little loss. Captain Montgomery (brother-in-law to Lord Townshend) a very gallant officer, was wounded early in the action, and taken prisoner, with the Surgeon, as he was dressing his wound, which happened as the regiment was changing its position.

During this action, that pleasant Hibernian acquaintance of ours, M——, of the same regiment, was slightly wounded, and conveyed into the house with the rest of the wounded, which had been attacked, as part of the regiment had thrown themselves into it, for better defence during the action. Our friend M——, in endeavoring to comfort his fellow-sufferers, in a blunt manner, exclaimed, "By "heavens, my good lads, you need not think so "much of being wounded, for by Jasus God there's "a bullet in the beam."

As to the other part of the army, some remained behind at Ticonderoga, some employed in bringing up the *batteaux*, &c. but the whole are now assembled, and collected at this place.

From the various accounts we have been able to collect of the Americans, relative to their abandoning Ticonderoga, it seemed that upon our gaining possession of Sugar-Hill, a post which they were certainly very negligent and imprudent in not securing, they were greatly dismayed, and seeing the preparations we were making to open a battery, which I before observed had the command of all their works, they called a council of their principal officers, when it was pointed out to them by General Sinclair, who commanded the garrison, that their force was very deficient in numbers to man their works, and that it was impossible to make any effectual defence, observing to them that places, however strong, without a sufficient number of troops, must surrender, and that in all probability

the place would be surrounded in less than four and twenty hours. In this situation of affairs, the General saw the ruin of his army, and it was his opinion that the fort ought to be abandoned to save the troops; that the baggage and artillery stores were to be sent to Skenesborough by water, and the troops were to march by land, by the way of Huberton, to that place. These proposals being fully approved of by the council, was the reason of their evacuating it that night, and hazarding the undertaking.

General Burgoyne foreseeing the great difficulties of conveying even provisions, setting apart baggage, has issued out the following orders:

"It is observed, that the injunction given before "the army took the field, relative to the baggage of "officers, has not been complied with, and that the "regiments in general are incumbered with much "more baggage than they can possibly be supplied "with means of conveying, when they quit the "lake and rivers: warning is therefore given again "to the officers, to convey by the *batteaux* which "will soon return to Ticonderoga, the baggage that "is not indispensibly necessary to them, or upon "the first sudden movement, it must inevitably be "left on the ground. Such gentlemen as served in "America last war may remember, that the officers "took up with soldiers tents, and often confined "their baggage to a knapsack, for months to-"gether."

Fortunately for me, my horse has come safe

round the lakes, which will enable me to keep the little baggage I brought with me.

The Indians, animated with our success, have acquired more confidence and courage, as great numbers have joined the army, and are daily continuing so to do.

Unexpected orders being just given out, that Captain Gardner departs to-morrow for England, and having several more letters to write, I am obliged to leave you. Adieu.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXXIV

Camp at Skenesborough, July 17, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOU will no doubt be surprized, that in my account of the proceedings of the army, every circumstance of which seems to add glory and conquest to the British arms, that I never made mention of the savages, in our pursuit of the enemy from Ticonderoga; they could not, in any respect whatever, be drawn away from the plunder of that place, and I am afraid this is not the only instance in which the General has found their assistance little more than a name.

Those who have the management and conduct of them are, from interested motives, obliged to indulge them in all their caprices and humors, and, like spoiled children, are more unreasonable and importunate upon every new indulgence granted them: but there is no remedy; were they left to themselves, they would be guilty of enormities too horrid to think of, for guilty and innocent, women and infants, would be their common prey.

This is too much the case of the lower Canadian Indians, which are the only ones who have joined our army; but we understand, within two days march, the *Outawas*, and some remoter nations, are on the road to join us, more brave, and more tractable, who profess war, and not pillage. They are under the direction of a *Monsieur St. Luc*, and one

Langdale, both of whom were great partizans of the French last war; the latter was the person who planned and executed, with the nations he is now escorting, the defeat of General Braddock.

If these Indians correspond with the character given of them, some good may be derived from their assistance; little is to be expected from those with the army at present, but plundering.

As I hinted to you in a former letter, the General's manifesto has not had the desired effect, as intelligence is brought in that the committees are using their utmost endeavors to counteract it, by watching and imprisoning all persons they suspect, compelling the people to take arms, to drive their cattle and burn their corn, under the penalty of immediate death; and, sorry am I to add, that numbers of well-disposed persons to the success of our arms, have already undergone that fate! History, I think, cannot furnish an instance, where a war was ever carried on with so much rancor, not only with those who seem inclined to oppose them, but equally to those who would remain neuter.

Numbers have joined the army since we have penetrated into this place, professing themselves loyalists, wishing to serve, some to the end of the war, some only the campaign, a third part of the number have arms, and till arms arrive for the remainder, they are employed in clearing the roads and repairing the bridges, in which the Americans are very expert.

We are obliged to wait some time in our present

position, till the roads are cleared of the trees which the Americans felled after their retreat. You would think it almost impossible, but every ten or twelve yards great trees are laid across the road, exclusive of smaller ones, especially when it is considered what a hasty retreat they made of it. Repairing the bridges is a work of some labor, added to which, a stock of provisions must be brought up previous to our marching to Fort Edward. We lie under many disadvantages in prosecuting this war, from the impediments I have stated, and we cannot follow this great military maxim, "in good success "push the advantage as far as you can."

While this part of the army is thus employed, the remainder are conveying the gun-boats, *batteaux* and provision vessels into Lake George, to scour that lake, and secure the future route of our magazines; when that force is ready to move down the lake, the army will proceed to possess Fort Edward, by which means the enemy, if they do not abandon Fort George, must inevitably be caught, as they will be enclosed by the two armies. During these movements General Riedesel is to make a diversion into Connecticut, and reconnoitre the country, and by that feint to draw the attention of the Americans to almost every quarter.

Our successes, no doubt, must have operated strongly on the minds of the enemy, and they will be equally as anxious to adopt measures for stopping the progress of our army, as to prevent the imminent danger the northern colonies are exposed to.

On Sunday last a thanksgiving sermon was preached, for the success of our arms, after which there was a *feu de joie* fired by the whole army, with artillery and small arms; the sermon was preached by the clergyman whom I have made mention of, and an exceeding good one it was, for a parish church, but not in the least applicable to the occasion.

By the best intelligence that can be gained, we are informed, that General Schuyler is at Fort Edward, collecting the militia from the adjacent countries, which, with the remains of their broken army, is to form a sufficient body for making a stand at this place. Their shattered army have suffered incredible hardships from the want of provisions, and the necessaries to cover them, from the incessant rains that have fell of late, as they were compelled to make a week's circuit through the woods, before they could reach Fort Edward, in order to avoid the various strong detachments that we had in different parts, on the Connecticut side.

I omitted to mention to you, that your old friend Captain H——, was wounded at the battle of Huberton, early in the action, when the grenadiers formed to support the light infantry. I could not pass by him as he lay under a tree, where he had scrambled upon his hands and knees, to protect him from the scattering shot, without going up to see what assistance could be afforded him, and learn if he was severely wounded. You who know his ready turn for wit, will not be surprized to hear, though in

extreme agony, that with an arch look, and clapping his hand behind him, he told me, if I wanted to be satisfied, I must ask that, as the ball had entered at his hip, and passed through a certain part adjoining: he is now at Ticonderoga, and, from the last account, is recovering fast.

We march to-morrow, and on our arrival at Fort Edward you may depend upon hearing from,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXXV

Camp at Fort Edward, August 6, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE are arrived at this place, in which it was thought the enemy would have made a stand, but upon intelligence of our advancing, they precipitately abandoned it, as they did the garrison of Ticonderoga. Very fortunately for the garrison of Fort George, they had passed this place about an hour before our arrival; had they been that much later, they must have been inevitably cut off.

The country between our late encampment at Skenesborough and this place, was a continuation of woods and creeks, interspersed with deep morasses; and to add to these natural impediments, the enemy had very industriously augmented them, by felling immense trees, and various other modes, that it was with the utmost pains and fatigue we could work our way through them. Exclusive of these, the watery grounds and marshes were so numerous, that we were under the necessity of constructing no less than forty bridges to pass them, and over one morass there was a bridge of near two miles in length.

In our march through this wilderness, as it may with propriety be called, we met with very little difficulty from the Americans. They sometimes, when our people were removing the obstructions we had continually to encounter, would attack them,

but as they were only straggling parties, they were easily repulsed. The distance from our late encampment to this place was small, but the many obstacles the enemy had thrown in our way, made it a matter of astonishment, considering the laborious march we had undergone, that we should arrive so soon.

On our way, we marched across the Pine-plains, which derive their name from an extensive space of level country, on which grows nothing but very lofty pine-trees. On these plains we frequently met with the enemy's encampment, and about the center of them, upon some rising ground, there were exceeding strong works, defended by an immense abbatis, where it was thought they would wait our approach. But this position was not suited to the Americans, for if their lines were forced, their rear was an open extent of country. It is a general observation, that they never make a stand but upon an eminence, almost inaccessible, and a wood to cover their retreat.

At this encampment the expected Indians have joined us; they seem to possess more bravery, and much more humanity, than those who accompanied us across Lake Champlain, as the following little anecdote will convince you:

A few days since several of them fell in with a scouting party of the Americans, and after a little skirmish, the enemy fled to their *batteaux*, and rowed across the river. The Indians fired at, but could not reach them, and being greatly exasper-

ated at their making their escape, perceiving a hog-trough, they put their fire-arms into it, stripped and swam across the river, pushing the hog-trough before them. The Indians gained the shore lower down than the Americans, surprized and took them prisoners, and brought them back in the *batteaux* across the river.

One of the Americans, a very brave fellow, was wounded in the skirmish, and unable to walk, when the Indians brought him upon their backs for near three miles, with as much care and attention as if he had been one of their own people.

As the Indians approached the camp, we were all apprized of their bringing in some prisoners, by their setting up the war whoop; but every one was astonished, and as equally pleased at their humanity, in beholding an Indian bringing on his back the chief of the party. He was taken before General Fraser, but would give no answer to any question, and behaved in the most undaunted manner. The General imagining that by shewing him attention he might gain some information from him, ordered him some refreshment, and when the Surgeon had examined his wound, told him he must immediately undergo an amputation, which being performed, he was requested to keep himself still and quiet, or a locked jaw would inevitably ensue; to this he replied with great firmness, "then I shall have the "pleasure of dying in a good cause, that of gaining "independence to the American Colonies." I mention this circumstance, to shew how chearfully

some of them will sacrifice their lives in pursuit of this favorite idol. Such was the man's restless disposition, that he actually died the next morning. This death was generally regretted, as one among the very few who act from principle; had he survived, a different statement of the case might have rendered him as strenuous a loyalist, as great a hero, as he was a stubborn rebel.

To those who have been averse to our employing Indians, a melancholy instance was lately afforded, that will afresh sharpen their arguments against the maxim, and as the matter will certainly be greatly exaggerated, when the accounts of it arrive in England, I shall relate to you the circumstance, as it really happened, and clearly point out the misfortune not to be the effect of their natural barbarity, but a disputed point of war.

A young lady, whose parents being well affected to Government, had abandoned their habitation to avoid the ill treatment of the Americans, and left their child alone in it, who, upon the approach of our army, was determined to leave her father's house and join it, as a young man, to whom she was on the point of being married, was an officer in the provincial troops. Some Indians, who were out upon a scout, by chance met with her in the woods; they at first treated her with every mark of civility they are capable of, and were conducting her into camp; when within a mile of it, a dispute arose between the two Indians, whose prisoner she was, and words growing very high, one of them, who was

fearful of losing the reward for bringing her safe into camp, most inhumanly struck his tomahawk into her skull, and she instantly expired.

The situation of the General, whose humanity was much shocked at such an instance of barbarity, was very distressing and critical; for however inclined he might be to punish the offender, still it was hazarding the revenge of the Indians, whose friendship he had to court, rather than to seek their enmity.

The Chief of the tribe to which the Indian belonged, readily consented to his being delivered up to the General, to act with him as he thought proper; but at the same time said, it was the rules of their war, that if two of them at the same instant seized a prisoner, and seemed to have an equal claim, in case any dispute arose between them, they soon decided the contest, for the unhappy cause was sure to become a victim to their contention.

Thus fell a poor unfortunate young lady, whose death must be universally lamented. I am afraid you will accuse me of great apathy, and conclude the scenes of war to have hardened my feelings, when I say, that this circumstance, put in competition with all the horrors attendant on this unfortunate contest, and which, in all probability, are likely to increase hourly, is but of little moment.

The General shewed great resentment to the Indians upon this occasion, and laid restraints upon their dispositions to commit other enormities. He

was the more exasperated, as they were Indians of the remoter tribes who had been guilty of this offence, and whom he had been taught to look upon as more warlike. I believe, however, he has found equal depravity of principle reigns throughout the whole of them, and the only pre-eminence of the remoter tribes consists in their ferocity.

From this time there was an apparent change in their tempers; their ill humor and mutinous disposition strongly manifested itself, when they found the plunder of the country was controuled; their interpreters, who had a *douceur* in the rapacity, being likewise debarred from those emoluments, were profligate enough to promote dissention, desertion and revolt.

In this instance, however, *Monsieur St. Luc* is to be acquitted of these factions, though I believe he was but too sensible of their pining after the accustomed horrors, and that they were become as impatient of his controul as of all other: however, thro' the pride and interest of authority, and at the same time the affectionate love he bore to his old associates, he was induced to cover the real cause under frivolous pretences of complaint.

On the 4th instant, at the pressing instance of the above gentleman, a council was called, when, to the General's great astonishment, those nations he had the direction of, declared their intention of returning home, at the same time demanding the General to concur with and assist them. This event was extremely embarrassing, as it was giving up part of

the force which had been obtained at a great expence to Government, and from whose assistance so much was looked for: on the other hand, if a cordial reconciliation was made with them, it must be by an indulgence in all their excesses of blood and rapine. Nevertheless the General was to give an immediate answer; he firmly refused their proposal, insisted upon their adherence to the restraints that had been established, and at the same time, in a temperate manner, represented to them their ties of faith, of generosity and honor, adding many other persuasive arguments, to encourage them in continuing their services.

This answer seemed to have some weight with them, as many of the tribes nearest home only begged, that some part of them might be permitted to return to their harvest, which was granted. Some of the remote tribes seemed to retract from their proposal, professing great zeal for the service.

Notwithstanding this, to the astonishment of the General, and every one belonging to the army, the desertion took place the next day, when they went away by scores, loaded with such plunder as they had collected, and have continued to do so daily, till scarce one of those that joined us at Skenesborough is left.

It is with great pleasure I acquaint you that Major Ackland is so far recovered, as to assume his command of the grenadiers; he arrived at the camp yesterday, accompanied by the amiable Lady Harriet, who, in the opening of the campaign, was re-

strained, by the positive injunction of her husband, from sharing the fatigue and hazard that was expected before Ticonderoga. But she no sooner heard that the Major was wounded, than she crossed Lake *Champlain* to join him, determined to follow his fortunes the remainder of the campaign.

That your partner in the connubial state, should you be induced to change your situation, may prove as affectionate, and evince as tender an anxiety for your welfare, as Lady Harriet, on all occasions shews for that of the Major, is the ardent wish of

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXXVI

Camp at Fort Edward, Aug. 8, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE still remain at this encampment, till provisions are brought up to enable us to move forward, and notwithstanding these delays in our convoys and stores, it will certainly be thought we remain too long for an army whose business is to act offensively, and whose first motion, according to the maxims of war, should contribute, as soon as possible, to the execution of the intended expedition.

I know it will be the general observation in England, that we ought, after we had penetrated thus far, to have made our way to Albany by rapid marches, it being no more than fifty miles distant from this place. In this instance it is to be considered, how the troops are to pass two great rivers, the Hudson and the Mohawk, without *batteaux*; to form a bridge, or water-raft, to convey large bodies at once, even admitting the contrivance of a bridge of rafts to pass the Hudson, and trust to chance for the passage of the Mohawk, or in case of a disappointment, recourse to be had to the fords at *Schenectady*, which are fifteen miles from the mouth of the river, and are fordable, except after heavy rains: removing all these impediments, for a rapid march the soldier must of course be exempted from all personal incumbrances, and represented as just

marching from a parade in England, for nothing can be more repugnant to the ideas of a rapid march, than the load a soldier generally carries during a campaign, consisting of a knapsack, a blanket, a haversack that contains his provision, a canteen for water, a hatchet, and a proportion of the equipage belonging to his tent; these articles, (and for such a march there cannot be less than four days provision) added to his accoutrements, arms, and sixty rounds of ammunition, make an enormous bulk, weighing about sixty pounds. As the Germans must be included in this rapid march, let me point out the incumbrance they are loaded with, exclusive of what I have already described, especially their grenadiers, who have, in addition, a cap with a very heavy brass front, a sword of an enormous size, a canteen that cannot hold less than a gallon, and their coats very long skirted. Picture to yourself a man in this situation, and how extremely well calculated he is for a rapid march.

It may be urged, that the men might be relieved from a considerable part of this burthen, and that they might march free from knapsacks and camp equipage, being divested of which, they might have carried more provision. Admitting this it would not remedy the evil, it being with great difficulty you can prevail on a common soldier to husband his provision, in any exigency whatever. Even in a settled camp, a young soldier has very short fare on the fourth day after he receives his provision; and on a march, in bad weather and bad roads, when

the weary foot slips back at every step, and a curse is provoked by the enormous weight that retards him, it must be a very patient veteran, who has experienced much scarcity and hunger, that is not tempted to throw the whole contents of his haversack into the mire, instances of which I saw on several of our marches. When they thought they should get fresh provision at the next encampment, and that only when they were loaded with four days provision: the soldiers reason in this manner: the load is a grievous incumbrance — want but a little way off — and I have often heard them exclaim, "Damn the provisions, we shall get more at "the next encampment; the General won't let his "soldiers starve."

Consistent with the idea of rapidity, it is necessary to carry forward more provision than for bare sustenance during the march, or how were the men to subsist when they arrived at Albany, where the Americans will certainly make a stand? but even supposing they should not, they will of course drive off all the cattle, and destroy the corn and corn-mills; this can only be effected by carts, which could not keep pace with the army, there being only one road from Albany for wheel-carriage, and in many places there are deep and wide gullies, where the bridges are broken, and must necessarily be repaired. This road is bounded on one side by the river, and on the other by perpendicular ascents, covered with wood, where the enemy might not only greatly annoy, but where, in one night, they could

throw impediments in our way, that would take nearly the whole of the next day to remove, therefore every idea of conveying more provision than the men could carry on their backs must cease, as the time and labor in removing these obstructions, and making new roads for the carts to pass, before they could reach the army, would inevitably be the cause of a famine, or the army must retreat. All notion of artillery is totally laid aside, as in the present state of the roads, not the smallest ammunition tumbril could be carried with the army.

There are many who may be led away with the ideas of a rapid march, and say that artillery is useless; but they can only form their opinion from the warmth of their wishes. It is impossible to judge, or form an opinion, unless upon the spot, for, speaking within compass, there are not less than a dozen strong passes, setting aside the passage of the Mohawk; where, if strengthened with abbatis, which the Americans are expert in making, as they never encamped a single night without throwing up works of this sort in a few hours, five hundred of their militia would stop, for a time, ten times their number of the bravest troops in the world, who had not artillery to assist them.

Having stated these objections to the principles and practicability of a rapid march, you cannot but be fully convinced how necessary it is to advance with a sufficient supply of stores, both of artillery and provisions; and in order to gain a great supply of the latter, as well as to provide some teams and

oxen, a detachment is going to Bennington, to surprize a magazine of the enemy's, which will enable the army to proceed without delay, and its Commander to prosecute the object of his expedition.

Certainly the situation of the General is extremely trying, however zealously he is inclined, and anxious in compleating the object of his command. For one hour that he can devote in contemplating how to fight his army, he must allot twenty to contrive how to feed it! This inconvenience the enemy have not to encounter, as their army is speedily and regularly supplied with every thing, by means of their navigable rivers, which communicate from province to province. An American General has only to teach his men to fight, (that's a pretty difficult task you'll say) he is never at a loss how to feed them.

It is, from the various circumstances I have stated, greatly to be wished, that the minds of some men were more open to conviction, to form their opinions with the greater liberality of sentiment.

A few days since I went from this to Fort George, relative to some artillery stores, at which place I had an opportunity of seeing Lake George, which, altho' considerably smaller than Lake *Champlain*, in my opinion exceeds it far in point of beauty and diversity of scene.

About the center of the lake there are two islands, on the largest of which, called Diamond Island, are encamped two companies of the 47th regiment, under the command of Captain Aubrey, for the pur-

pose of forwarding the provisions across the lake. This island, as well as the one that is close to it, formerly was so over-run with rattle-snakes, that persons when they passed the lake seldom or ever ventured on them. A *batteaux* in sailing up it, overset near Diamond Island, and among other things it contained several hogs, which swam to the shore, as did the Canadians who were rowing it up: the latter, in apprehension of the rattle-snakes, climbed up trees for the night, and the next morning observing a *batteaux*, they hailed the people in it, who took them in and conveyed them to Fort George.

Some time after the man who owned the hogs, being unwilling to lose them, returned down the lake, and with some comrades ventured a search. After traversing the island a considerable time, they at last found them, but so prodigiously fat, that they could scarcely move, and in their search only met with one rattle-snake, which greatly surprized them, as the island was reported to abound. Their wonder, however, was not of long duration, for being short of provisions, they killed one of the hogs, the stomach of which was filled with rattle-snakes, and from this circumstance it was natural to conclude the hogs had devoured them since their landing.

This was related to me by a person on whose veracity I can depend, and several of the inhabitants have informed me since, that if a hog happens to meet a rattle-snake, it will immediately attack and devour it.

As I am on the subject of rattle-snakes, and this country greatly abounding with them, permit me to describe to you those reptiles, which I am the better enabled to do, having seen one killed yesterday. It was about a yard long, and about three inches in circumference, in its thickest part; it had seven rattles at the end of its tail, and according to the number of these rattles, its age is ascertained, every year producing an additional one, fixed by a small ligament within the other, and being hollow, the quick motion of the tail occasions a noise so peculiar to itself, that I cannot mention any thing similar to it. The scales of these rattle-snakes are of variegated colors, and extremely beautiful, the head is small, with a very quick and piercing eye; their flesh, notwithstanding the venom they are possessed of, is very delicious, far superior to that of an eel, and produces a very rich soup.

The bite of these reptiles is certain death, unless proper remedies are applied. Providence has been so attentive to our preservation (a pretty remark you'll say this, to come from a soldier, who is contributing daily his assistance to the destroying and maiming hundreds), that near to where these reptiles resort, there grows a plant, with a large broad leaf, called *plaintain*, which being bruised and applied to the wound, is a sure antidote to the ill effects of its venom. The virtues of this plant were discovered by a negro in Virginia, for which he obtained his liberty and a pension for life.

This discovery, like many others equally surpriz-

ing, was the mere effect of chance. This poor negro having been bit by one of these snakes, in the leg, it swelled in an instant to such a degree, that he was unable to walk; lying down on the grass in great anguish, he gathered some of this plant, and chewing it, applied it to the wound, imagining it would cool the inflammation; this giving him instant relief, he renewed the application several times, and the swelling abated, so as to enable him to walk home to his master's plantation; after repeating the same for the space of two or three days, he was perfectly recovered.

But however surrounded I may be with venomous reptiles, the clank of arms, and horrors of war, rest assured that neither distance, time, nor place, can erase the idea of friendship, nor the sweet thoughts of what is left behind ever be lessened in the breast of

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXXVII

Camp at Batten Kill, August 24, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IT is with the utmost concern I tell you the expedition to Bennington has failed, and great numbers made prisoners: This no doubt will be a matter of great exultation to the Americans, and divest them of those fears they had entertained of the German troops, especially as they have been defeated by a set of raw militia. In this enterprize the General left nothing for chance to do, but planned every thing his wisdom could suggest to effect it, and the project would have answered many desirable ends, had the execution of it proved as fortunate as the plan was judicious.

In some former letter I laid much stress against a rapid movement, and endeavored to point out to you the total impracticability of it. I need only add another argument to impress you fully with the same sentiments. The army could no more proceed without hospital stores, than it could without provisions, for depend upon it, the General who carries troops into fire, without precautions to alleviate the certain consequences, is sure to alienate their affections, and damp their ardor; it is exacting more than human spirit is able to sustain. It is not necessary for you to be accustomed to fields of battle, to be convinced of truth; let your mind only rest for a moment on the objects that present them-

selves after an action, and then reflect, there is not a mattrass for broken bones, nor a cordial for agony and faintness. Those whose ideas are continually marching with a much greater rapidity than ever an army did, suppose no opposition, and no suffering from wounds. The many helpless and in agonies, who must be cruelly abandoned (supposing the rest could be prevailed on to abandon those whose case might the next day be their own) make no consideration with men of precipitate imagination. I shall close this subject with observing, that in my opinion, a General is responsible to God and his country for the armies he conducts, and that he cannot easily overlook these objects; however anxious he may be, he must be patient till a few hundred beds, and a proper proportion of medicine and chirurgical materials, can be brought up for troops that are to *fight* as well as *march*.

In order to take advantage of the success that was expected from the expedition to Bennington, the army moved to the east side of Hudson's river, and on the 14th, a bridge of rafts was constructed, over which the advanced corps passed, and encamped on the heights at Saratoga.

Whatever was the cause of the failure of the expedition to Bennington, of which many appear, the principal one seems to have been the delay of the reinforcement that was sent to support the first detatchment, which was from eight o'clock in the morning to four o'clock in the afternoon of next day, marching two and twenty miles; the advanced

corps, not only at the time the Germans were sent, but at the failure of it, felt themselves much hurt, thinking it was a duty they ought to have been employed on, and it was not till after its failure, that impression was erased from their minds, by being informed they were reserved for more important services; for in case that expedition had proved successful, the advanced corps were to have pushed forward to the heights of Still-Water, and intrenched there till the army and provisions could have joined; by this means the whole country on the west side of the river to the banks of the Mohawk, would have been in our possession.

A few days after we had encamped at the heights of Saratoga, the bridge of rafts was carried away by the torrents occasioned by the late heavy fall of rain, and our communication cut off from the main body. If the enemy after the late successes, in our present situation, had been induced to attack us, the General would have found himself in a very bad position, and unable to take a better, as the advanced corps could not be supported by the line; the only means of retreat would have been under the cover of our artillery, therefore our corps were recalled, after the action at Bennington, and were obliged to cross the river in boats and scowls, and take up our old encampment at this place.

The Mohawk nation, which are called Sir William Johnson's Indians, as having their village near his plantation, and who, in his life-time, was continually amongst them, were driven from their vil-

lage by the Americans, and have joined our army: they have come with their *squaws*, children, cattle, horses and sheep, and are encamped at the creek from whence this place takes its name; when the army cross the river, the *squaws* and children are to go to Canada, and the men to remain.

Upon their arrival I visited them at their encampment, and had an opportunity of observing the mode they adopt in training up their children. They are in a manner amphibious; there were several of the men bathing in the creek; and a number of little children, the eldest could not be more than six years old, and these little creatures had got into the middle of the creek upon planks, which they paddled along, sometimes sitting, then standing on them, and if they overbalance the plank, and slip off with a dexterity almost incredible, they get on it again; as to diving, they will keep a considerable time under water, nearly two or three minutes.

The mode of confining their young infants, is by binding them flat on their backs to a board, and as they are swaddled up to their head, it makes them resemble living mummies; this method of binding their young, I am led to imagine, is the cause of that perfect symmetry among the men. A deformed Indian is rare to be met with; the women would be equally as perfect, but as they grow up, they acquire a habit, it being deemed an ornament, of so turning in the feet, that their toes almost meet; the *squaws*, after they have suckled their infants, if they fall asleep, lay them on the ground, if

not they hang the board they are swaddled to on the branch of a tree, and swing them till they do; upon a march, they tie these boards, with their infants, on their backs.

As the river is subject to continual torrents and increase of water, a bridge of boats is now constructing, to preserve a communication with both sides of the river, which when compleated, the advanced corps are to pass over, and encamp at Saratoga.

I am interrupted by the cries of some Indians who are setting up the war whoop, on their bringing in prisoners.

When they arrive, as they imagine, in hearing of the camp, they set up the war whoop, as many times as they have number of prisoners. It is difficult to describe it to you, and the best idea that I can convey is, that it consists in the sound of *whoo, whoo, whoop!* which is continued till the breath is almost exhausted, and then broke off with a sudden elevation of voice; some of them modulate it into notes, by placing the hand before the mouth, but both are heard at a great distance.

Whenever they scalp, they seize the head of the disabled or dead enemy, and placing one of their feet on the neck, twist their left hand in the hair, by which means they extend the skin that covers the top of the head, and with the other hand draw their scalping knife from their breast, which is always kept in good order, for this cruel purpose, a few dextrous strokes of which takes off the part that is

termed the scalp; they are so exceedingly expeditious in doing this, that it scarcely exceeds a minute. If the hair is short, and they have no purchase with their hand, they stoop, and with their teeth strip it off; when they have performed this part of their martial virtue, as soon as time permits, they tie with bark or deer's sinews their speaking trophies of blood in a small hoop, to preserve it from putrefaction, painting part of the scalp and the hoop all round with red. These they preserve as monuments of their prowess, and at the same time as proofs of the vengeance they have inflicted on their enemies.

At one of the Indian encampments, I saw several scalps hanging upon poles, in front of their *wigwams*; one of them had remarkably fine long hair hanging to it. An officer that was with me wanted to purchase it, at which the Indian seemed highly offended, nor would he part with this barbarous trophy, although he was offered so strong a temptation as a bottle of rum.

The appearance of a dead body, you must allow, is not a pleasing spectacle, but when scalped it is shocking; two, in this situation, we met with, in our march from Skenesborough to Fort Edward. After so cruel an operation, you could hardly suppose any one could survive, but when we took possession of Ticonderoga, we found two poor fellows who lay wounded, that had been scalped in the skirmish the day before the Americans abandoned it, and who are in a fair way of recovery. I have

seen a person who had been scalped, and was as hearty as ever, but his hair never grew again.

Should I at any time be unfortunate enough to get wounded, and the Indians come across me, with an intention to scalp, it would be my wish to receive at once a *coup de grace* with their tomahawk, which in most instances they mercifully allow.

This instrument they make great use of in war, for in pursuing an enemy, if they find it impossible to come up with them, they with the utmost dexterity throw, and seldom fail striking it into the skull or back of those they pursue, by that means arresting them in flight. The tomahawk is nothing more than a small hatchet, having either a sharp spike, or a cup for tobacco, affixed opposite to the part that is intended for cutting, but they are mostly made to answer two purposes, that of a pipe and a hatchet. When they purchase them of the traders, they take off the wooden handle, and substitute in its stead a hollow cane one, which they do in a curious manner.

I make no doubt but it will afford you great pleasure, knowing how much you are interested in my welfare, when I inform you that I have had some promotion, and it is the more satisfactory to myself, as I am not removed out of the advanced corps, it being into the 24th regiment. If I escape this campaign, either through interest or purchase, there are hopes of obtaining a company. With my best wishes for your health and happiness, I am

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXXVIII

Camp at Freeman's Farm, Sept. 24, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE bridge of boats was soon constructed, and thirty days provision brought up for the whole army. On the 13th instant, we passed Hudson's river, and encamped in the plains of Saratoga, at which place there is a handsome and commodious dwelling-house, with outhouses, an exceeding fine saw and grist-mill, and at a small distance a very neat church, with several houses round it, all of which are the property of General Schuyler. This beautiful spot was quite deserted, not a living creature on it. On the grounds were great quantities of fine wheat, as also Indian corn; the former was instantly cut down, threshed, carried to the mill to be ground, and delivered to the men to save our provisions; the latter was cut for forage for the horses.

Thus a plantation, with large crops of several sorts of grain, thriving and beautiful in the morning, was before night reduced to a scene of distress and poverty! What havoc and devastation is attendant on war! Your coffee-house acquaintance, who fight battles over a bottle of wine, and dictate what armies should do, were danger only to shew itself upon your coast, and threaten an invasion, would instantly, like the possessors of this delightful spot, be flying to the most interior parts of the kingdom.

On the 15th the whole army made a movement forward, and encamped at a place called *Dovacote*.

I omitted to mention a sad accident that happened to that amiable woman, Lady Harriet Ackland, a little before we passed Hudson's river, which neither has altered her resolution nor her chearfulness, but she continues her progress, partaking the fatigues of the advanced corps.

Our situation, as being the advanced post of the army, was frequently so very alert, that we seldom slept out of our cloaths. In one of these situations a tent, in which Major Ackland and Lady Harriet were asleep, suddenly caught fire; the Major's orderly serjeant, with great danger of suffocation, dragged out the first person he got hold of, which was the Major. It providentially happened, that in the same instant Lady Harriet, without knowing what she did, and perhaps not perfectly awake, made her escape, by creeping under the walls in the back part of the tent, and upon recovering her senses, conceive what her feelings must be, when the first object she beheld was the Major, in the midst of the flames, in search of her! The serjeant again saved him, but the Major's face and body was burnt in a very severe manner: every thing they had with them in the tent was consumed. This accident was occasioned by a favorite Newfoundland dog, who being very restless, overset a table on which a candle was burning, (the Major always had a light in his tent during the night, when

our situation required it) and it rolling to the walls of the tent, instantly set them on fire.

On the 17th the army renewed their march, repairing a great number of bridges, and encamped on a very advantageous ground, at the distance of about four miles from the enemy, who are strongly posted at Still-Water.

At our last encampment a circumstance occurred, which though trifling in itself, marks how provident nature has been to the younger part of the brute creation. It is the custom in camp to picket the horses in the rear of the tents: in the night I was awaked with a great rustling of my tent cords, and a squeaking noise; on getting up, I found it was a little colt that my mare had foaled. When we resumed our march the next day, I was much embarrassed what to do with the colt, fearful it would weaken my mare, and render her unable to convey my baggage, but I would not have it destroyed; and, believe me, this little creature, only dropped the night before, though in a journey of such a distance as seventeen miles, through thick woods and bad roads, was as gay and chearful, when we arrived at our encampment, as if it had been in a meadow, after which, you may be sure, I could not find in my heart to make away with it.

On the 18th, the enemy appeared in force, to obstruct the men who were repairing the bridges, and it was imagined they had a design of drawing us to action, in a spot where artillery could not be em-

ployed; a small loss was sustained in skirmishing, and the repair of the bridges was effected.

At this encampment a number of men got into a potatoe-field, and whilst gathering them, a scouting party of the enemy came across and fired on them, killing and wounding near thirty, when they might with ease have surrounded the whole party, and taken them prisoners. Such cruel and unjustifiable conduct can have no good tendency, while it serves greatly to increase hatred, and a thirst for revenge.

On the 19th, the army marched to meet the enemy, in three divisions, the German line flanked the artillery and baggage, pursuing the course of the river through the meadows; the British line marched parallel to it at some distance, through the woods, forming the center division; whilst the advanced corps, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the Germans made a large circuit through the woods, and composed the right hand division; on our right there were flanking parties of Indians, Canadians and Provincials.

The signal guns for all the columns to advance were fired between one and two o'clock, and after an hour's march, the advanced party, consisting of the picquets of the center column, under the command of Major Forbes, fell in with a considerable body of the enemy, posted in a house and behind fences, which they attacked, and after much firing, nearly drove in the body of the Americans, but the woods being filled with men, much annoyed the

picquets, who were very fortunately supported by two companies of the 24th regiment, one of which happened to be our company, and a piece of artillery, which General Fraser had detached, on hearing the fire of Major Forbes's party, and we came up just as the enemy fled.

In this skirmish, a bat-man of General Fraser's rescued from the Indians an officer of the Americans, one Captain Van Swearingham, of Colonel Morgan's Virginia rifle-men; they were on the point of stripping him, which the man prevented, and recovered his pocket-book from them, containing all his papers of consequence and his commission. He offered the soldier all his *paper* dollars, and lamented he had no *hard* ones to reward him with.

The bat-man brought him up to General Fraser (who now had come up to the two companies he had detached) when he interrogated him concerning the enemy, but could obtain no other answer, than that their army was commanded by Generals Gates and Arnold. General Fraser, exceedingly provoked that he could gain no intelligence, told him if he did not immediately inform him as to the exact situation of the enemy, he would hang him up directly; the officer, with the most undaunted firmness, replied, "You may, if you please." The General perceiving he could make nothing of him, rode off, leaving him in the custody of Lieutenant Dunbar, of the artillery.

My servant, just at this period, arrived with my

canteen, which was rather fortunate, as we stood in need of some refreshment after our march through the woods, and this little skirmish. I requested Dunbar, with his prisoner, to partake of it, and sitting down upon a tree, we asked this Captain a variety of questions, to which he always gave evasive answers, and we both observed he was in great spirits: at last I said to him, "Captain, do you think "we shall have any more work upon our hands to "day?" to which he replied, "Yes, yes, you'll have "business enough, for there are many hundreds all "round you now." He had hardly spoke the words, than from a wood a little way in our front there came an excessive heavy fire. Dunbar ran to his guns, saying A——, you must take charge of the Captain. There being only one officer, besides myself, with the company, I committed him to the custody of a serjeant, to convey him to the house where the rest of the prisoners were, with particular orders, as the General had desired, that he should not be ill treated; I then hastened to my company, on joining of which I met a number of the men who were retiring wounded, and by this time the firing of the enemy was suppressed by the artillery.

Shortly after this we heard a most tremendous firing upon our left, where we were attacked in great force, and the very first fire, your old friend, Lieutenant Don, of the 21st regiment, received a ball through his heart. I am sure it will never be erased from my memory; for when he was

wounded, he sprung from the ground, nearly as high as a man. The party that had attacked us were again drove in by our cannon, but the fire raged most furiously on our left, and the enemy were marching to turn their right flank, when they met the advanced corps, posted in a wood, who repulsed them. From that time, which was about three o'clock, till after sun-set, the enemy, who were continually supplied with fresh troops, most vigorously attacked the British line: the stress lay upon the 20th, 21st, and 62d regiments, most part of which were engaged for near four hours, without intermission. The grenadiers and 24th regiment, as well as part of the light infantry, were at times engaged. In the conflict the advanced corps could only act partially and occasionally, as it was deemed unadviseable to evacuate the heights where they were advantageously posted.

General Phillips, at a very critical period, when the British line was hard pressed, by a great superiority of fire, brought up four pieces of artillery, which restored the action, and gallantly led up to the 20th regiment, at the utmost hazard of his person.

General Riedesel exerted himself, brought up the Germans, and arrived in time to charge the enemy with great bravery.

Just as the evening closed in, the enemy gave way on all sides and left us masters of the field, but darkness prevented a pursuit.

The troops lay that night upon their arms, and

the next day took a position nearly within cannon-shot of the enemy; we have fortified our right, and our left extends to the brow of the heights, so as to cover the meadows, by the river side, where the *batteaux* and hospitals are placed. The 47th regiment, with the regiments of *Hesse Hanau*, are encamped in the meadows, as a farther security.

The great valor displayed by the British troops encountering many obstructions, and such a powerful enemy, as, from the account of the prisoners, they had nearly treble our numbers in the field, and the great advantage of receiving instant reinforcements, must, in the eyes of those who judge impartially, reflect the highest honor.

Notwithstanding the glory of the day remains on our side, I am fearful the real advantages resulting from this hard-fought battle, will rest on that of the Americans, our army being so much weakened by this engagement, as not to be of sufficient strength to venture forth and improve the victory, which may, in the end, put a stop to our intended expedition; the only apparent benefit gained, is that we keep possession of the ground where the engagement began.

This severe-fought battle, and the consequences resulting from it, will fully confirm the arguments I pointed out to you relative to a rapid march. The victory must inevitably have been on the side of the Americans, without our artillery, and what a wretched state must the many brave soldiers be in,

without any comfort, or an hospital to remove them to!

The courage and obstinacy with which the Americans fought, were the astonishment of every one, and we now become fully convinced, they are not that contemptible enemy we had hitherto imagined them, incapable of standing a regular engagement, and that they would only fight behind strong and powerful works.

We have lost many brave men, and among that number is to be lamented Captain Jones, of the artillery, who was killed at his brigade of guns. The artillery of the army distinguished themselves greatly, but this brigade in particular, the officers and men stationed at those guns being all killed and wounded, except Lieutenant Hadden, who had a very narrow escape, his cap being shot away as he was spiking up the cannon.

Having just received orders to attend a working-party, to throw up a redoubt, I am obliged to defer a further account of this engagement till my next. It will no doubt afford you much pleasure to hear, that in this severe action I have escaped unhurt.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXXIX

Camp at Freeman's Farm, Oct. 6, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE have gained little more by our victory than honor, the Americans working with incessant labor to strengthen their left; their right is already unattackable. Instead of a disheartened and flying enemy, we have to encounter a numerous, and, as we lately experienced, a resolute one, equally disposed to maintain their ground as ourselves, and commanded by Generals whose activity leave no advantages unimproved.

The day after our late engagement, I had as unpleasant a duty as can fall to the lot of an officer, the command of the party sent out to bury the dead and bring in the wounded, and as we encamped on the spot where the three British regiments had been engaged, they were very numerous. In a former letter I described to you the sensations both before and after a battle, but in such an employment as this, the feelings are roused to the utmost pitch. You that are pleased to compliment me on my humanity, will think what I must have felt, on seeing fifteen, sixteen, and twenty buried in one hole. I however observed a little more decency than some parties had done, who left heads, legs and arms above ground. No other distinction is paid to officer or soldier, than that the officers are

put in a hole by themselves. Our army abounded with young officers, in the subaltern line, and in the course of this unpleasant duty, three of the 20th regiment were interred together, the age of the eldest not exceeding seventeen. This friendly office to the dead, though it greatly affects the feelings, was nothing to the scene in bringing in the wounded; the one were past all pain, the other in the most excruciating torments, sending forth dreadful groans. They had remained out all night, and from the loss of blood and want of nourishment, were upon the point of expiring with faintness: some of them begged they might lay and die, others again were insensible, some upon the least movement were put in the most horrid tortures, and all had near a mile to be conveyed to the hospitals; others at their last gasp, who for want of our timely assistance must have inevitably expired. These poor creatures, perishing with cold and weltering in their blood, displayed such a scene, it must be a heart of adamant that could not be affected at it, even to a degree of weakness.

In the course of the last action, Lieutenant Hervey, of the 62d, a youth of sixteen, and nephew to the Adjutant-General of the same name, received several wounds, and was repeatedly ordered off the field by Colonel Anstruther; but his heroic ardor would not allow him to quit the battle, while he could stand and see his brave lads fighting beside him. A ball striking one of his legs, his removal became absolutely necessary, and while they were

conveying him away, another wounded him mortally. In this situation the Surgeon recommended him to take a powerful dose of opium, to avoid a seven or eight hours life of most exquisite torture: this he immediately consented to, and when the Colonel entered the tent with Major Harnage, who were both wounded, they asked whether he had any affairs they could settle for him? his reply was, "that being a minor, every thing was already ad-"justed;" but he had one request, which he had just life enough to utter, "Tell my uncle I died "like a soldier!" Where will you find in ancient Rome heroism superior!

Beyond the ground where we defeated our enemy, all is hostile and dangerous in an alarming degree; it should seem as if we had conquered only to preserve our reputation, for we have reaped little advantage from our invincible efforts; the only satisfaction resulting on our part is, the consciousness of having acquitted ourselves like men, with a determination that the honor and renown of the British arms should remain unsullied. The nature of the country is peculiarly unfavorable in respect to military operations, it being difficult to reconnoitre the enemy, and to obtain any intelligence to be relied on: the roads, the situation of the enemy, the grounds for procuring forage, of which the army is in great want, and all parties are in quest of, are often attended with the utmost danger, and require great bodies to cover them.

The expectation of plunder which had induced

the Indians that remained to accompany us thus far, beginning now to fail, and seeing they have nothing but hardships and warfare, they are daily decreasing. They were of vast service in foraging and scouting parties, it being suited to their manner; they will not stand a regular engagement, either through the motives I formerly assigned, or from fear, but I am led to imagine the latter is the case, from the observation I have made of them in our late encounter with the enemy. The Indians were running from wood to wood, and just as our regiment had formed in the skirts of one, several of them came up, and by their signs were conversing about the severe fire on our right. Soon after the enemy attacked us, and the very first fire the Indians run off through the wood.

As to the Canadians, little was to be depended on their adherence, being easily dispirited, with an inclination to quit as soon as there was an appearance of danger; nor was the fidelity of the Provincials to be relied on who had joined our army, as they withdrew on perceiving the resistance of the Americans would be more formidable than had been expected.

The desertion of the Indians, Canadians, and Provincials, at a time when their services were most required, was exceedingly mortifying; and however it may prove, this instance, will shew future commanders what little dependence is to be placed on such auxiliaries.

You will readily allow that it is the highest test

of affection in a woman, to share with her husband the toils and hardships of the campaign, especially such an one as the present. What a trial of fortitude the late action must have been, through a distressing interval of long suspence! The ladies followed the route of the artillery and baggage, and when the action began, the Baroness Riedesel, Lady Harriet Ackland, and the wives of Major Harnage and Lieutenant Reynell, of the 62d regiment, entered a small uninhabited hut, but when the action became general and bloody, the Surgeons took possession of it, being the most convenient for the first care of the wounded; in this situation were these ladies four hours together, when the comfort they afforded each other was broke in upon, by Major Harnage being brought in to the Surgeons deeply wounded! What a blow must the next intelligence be, that informed them Lieutenant Reynell was killed! Madame de Riedesel and Lady Harriet could afford but little consolation to their companions, through an anxiousness they knew not how to smother, lest it might be soon, very soon, their own situation. The fears of Lady Harriet were doubly increased, having every apprehension, not only for her husband but her brother.

Surrounded by the dead and the dying for four long hours, the groans of the wounded, the discharge of the musquetry, and all the bustle of arms — my God! — what a state for women of susceptibility! — uncertain how the battle would terminate, and whether each should clasp again the ob-

ject of her dearest hopes, for whose sake had she traversed dreary regions, encountered hunger and weariness, and witnessed all the carnage of a long-disputed field — unanimated by the tumult, and without sharing the glory.

A long war teaches the most unwarlike nation the use of arms, and very frequently puts them in a condition to repair in the end, the losses they sustained in the beginning. Such is the present state of the enemy, who not only now, but before the late action, were strongly recruited, as powerful armies of militia spring up in every province. What a striking advantage there was on the side of the Americans, in the last engagement; but the defect of numbers in our little army, was amply made up by the courage of the soldiers, the valor and conduct of our Generals.

The officers who have been killed and wounded in the late action, are much greater in proportion than that of the soldiers, which must be attributed to the great execution of the rifle-men, who directed their fire against them in particular; in every interval of smoke, they were sure to take off some, as the rifle-men had posted themselves in high trees. Some of the prisoners who were taken late in the day, said, it was firmly believed in the enemy's camp, that General Burgoyne was killed, which mistake was occasioned by an Aid-de-Camp of General Phillips, a Captain Green, who, having the furniture to his saddle laced and embroidered, and being wounded, fell from his horse, the rifle-

man that wounded him, from that circumstance, affirmed it to be General Burgoyne.

You would be led to imagine, that the Indians and Canadians would have been of great utility against this mode of fighting, but the few who remained of the former, could not be brought within sound of a rifle-shot; and the latter, who formerly were very expert in this service, either from a great change in their military character, or a damp that was thrown upon them by the loss of their best officers, who were under the necessity of exposing themselves more than was requisite, in order to bring them at all into action, were of little use. Some of the Provincial troops were serviceable, but the only men we had really to oppose them were the German chasseurs, but their number was very inferior to the rifle-men of the enemy.

Our present situation is far from being an inactive one, the armies being so near, that not a night passes but there is firing, and continual attacks upon the advanced picquets, especially those of the Germans. It seems to be the plan of the enemy to harrass us by constant attacks, which they are enabled to do, without fatiguing their army, from the great superiority of their numbers.

We are now become so habituated to fire, that the soldiers seem to be indifferent to it, and eat and sleep when it is very near them; the officers rest in their cloaths, and the field officers are up frequently in the night. The enemy, in front of our quarter-

guard, within hearing, are cutting trees and making works, and when I have had this guard, I have been visited by most of the field officers, to listen to them. You would scarcely believe it, but the enemy had the assurance to bring down a small piece of cannon, to fire as their morning gun, so near to our quarter-guard, that the wadding rebounded against the works.

We have within these few evenings, exclusive of other alarms, been under arms most of the night, as there has been a great noise, like the howling of dogs, upon the right of our encampment; it was imagined the enemy set it up to deceive us, while they were meditating some attack. The two first nights this noise was heard, General Fraser thought it to have been the dogs belonging to the officers, and an order was given for the dogs to be confined within the tents; any that were seen running about, the Prevost had orders to hang them. The next night the noise was much greater, when a detachment of Canadians and Provincials were sent out to reconnoitre, and it proved to have arisen from large droves of wolves that came after the dead bodies: they were similar to a pack of hounds, for one setting up a cry, they all joined, and when they approached a corpse, their noise was hideous till they had scratched it up.

I have sent you a view of the encampment of our hospital tents, park of artillery, &c. from a redoubt we have on the opposite side of the river, by which you may be able to form some idea of the country

we are at present encamped on. This view was taken by Sir Francis Clerke, one of General Burgoyne's Aid-de-Camps, who has favored me with a copy.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XL

Cambridge, in New England, Nov. 10, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE dispatches sent by Lord Petersham, relative to our misfortunes, will have reached England long before this comes to hand. Your surprize, then, will cease at receiving a letter dated from this place. As every little circumstance relative to a campaign, cannot be given in an official account to be laid before the public, I shall relate the transactions of the army till the convention took place.

The day after the date of my last letter, a detachment of 1500 regular troops, with two twelve-pounders, two howitzers, and six six-pounders, went out between eleven and twelve o'clock. The reason, no doubt, for the General's marching at this time, rather than earlier in the morning, was, that in case we should not prove victorious, he had the night to favor his retreat.

The intention of this detachment was to make a movement to the enemy's left, not only to discover whether there was a possibility of forcing a passage, if necessary to advance, or dislodge the enemy, in order to favor a retreat, but likewise to cover the forage of the army, through the scarcity of which we were in great distress. This being a project of much importance, General Burgoyne took with him

Generals Phillips, Riedesel and Fraser, as officers best qualified, and with whose assistance he had every hope the plan would succeed. The guard of the camp upon the heights was left to the command of Brigadier Generals Hamilton and Specht, and the redoubts and plain to Brigadier General Gall.

This day having the quarter-guard of the regiment, I of course remained in camp, and therefore can give you no information as to the various positions that were taken; after the detachment had been out some time, we heard a very heavy firing with the artillery, and some little skirmishing with small arms.

At this time Major Campbell, of the 29th regiment, the Field-officer of the day, came to my guard, and desired me to go with a serjeant and some men, to reconnoitre across two ravines, in front of the guard, to listen if I could hear the enemy marching that way; all was quiet in that quarter, but as the firing began to be very heavy on the left, I returned to the guard. In this little circuit I was convinced how much the Americans were pushed in our late action, on the 19th of September, for I met with several dead bodies belonging to the enemy, and amongst them were laying close to each other, two men and a woman, the latter of whom had her arms extended, and her hands grasping cartridges.

Soon after my return to the guard, the firing appeared to become general on both sides, and very heavy indeed. Much about this time the bat-men

of the army, who went out for forage, came galloping into camp, having thrown off their forage to save their own horses and themselves by flight. The gallant behaviour of an old soldier, of the 20th regiment, deserves to be remembered; he had been wounded at the battle of Minden, and as he lay on the ground a French dragoon rode over him, and the horse's feet rested on his breast; after having recovered from this accident, he thought himself invulnerable, and held the Americans in great contempt: when they attacked the foraging party, the hardy old veteran, sitting upon the forage which he had got on the horse, kept loading and firing his piece at the enemy, and in this manner he brought his forage into camp. Upon his arrival, his master reprimanded him for the danger he had exposed both himself and his horses to, (when he said) "May it please your honor, I could not throw away "my forage, I'd sooner lose my life, than my poor "horses should starve."

You must allow this defeat of the bat-men, and a number of wounded men coming into camp, was no very favorable omen of success; nor can you conceive the sorrow visible on General Fraser's being brought in wounded, your old friends Campbell and Johnston, of our regiment, on each side of his horse, supporting him. I cannot describe to you the scene; it was such that the imagination must help to paint. — The officers, all anxious and eagerly enquiring as to his wound — the down-cast look and melancholy that was visible to every one, as to

his situation, and all the answer he could make to the many enquiries, was a shake of his head, expressive that it was all over with him. — So much was he beloved, that not only officers and soldiers, but all the women flocked round, solicitous for his fate.

When he had reached his tent, and was recovered a little from the faintness occasioned by loss of blood, he told those around him, that he saw the man who shot him, he was a rifle-man, and up in a tree; the ball entered a little below his breast, and penetrated just below the back bone. After the Surgeon had dressed his wound, he said to him very composedly, "Tell me, Sone, to the best of your "skill and judgment, if you think my wound is "mortal." When he replied, "I am sorry, Sir, to in- "form you, that it is, and that you cannot possibly "live four and twenty hours." He then called for pen and ink, and after making his will, and distributing a few little tokens of regard to the officers of his suite, desired that he might be removed to the general hospital.

In camp, and not in personal danger, as the mind is left to reflection, it is impossible to describe how much it is affected in beholding the wounded continually coming in, amid an incessant roar of cannon and musquetry, where perhaps many brave fellows are dying for their country — perhaps too in an unsuccessful battle! I can never consent to be left in camp again.

After many hours impatient anxiety, towards the close of the evening, the grand stroke came. I

had little hope to become a partaker in the action; but about that time the troops came pouring into camp as fast as they could, and shortly after Generals Burgoyne, Phillips and Riedesel. It is impossible to describe the anxiousness depicted in the countenance of General Burgoyne, who immediately rode up to the quarter-guards, and when he came to that of our regiment, I was across a ravine, posting a serjeant's guard. Upon enquiring eagerly for the officer, I came to him. "Sir," said the General, "you must defend this post to the very last man." You may easily conceive, upon receiving those orders, I judged every thing to be in a dangerous situation. There was not a moment for thought, for the Americans stormed with great fury the post of the light-infantry, under the command of Lord Balcarres, rushing close to the lines, under a severe fire of grape-shot and small arms. This post was defended with great spirit, and the enemy, led on by General Arnold, as gallantly assaulted the works; but on the General's being wounded, the enemy were repulsed, which was not till after dark. In this attack, I was but an observer, as our quarter-guard was some distance from the lines, but not sufficiently so as to be out of danger, as the balls were continually dropping down amongst us. In order that you may form some idea with what obstinacy the enemy assaulted the lines, from the commencement, at which time it was dark, till they were repulsed, there was a continual sheet of fire along the lines, and in this attack we were fully

convinced of what essential service our artillery was.

During the time the enemy were so vigorously attacking our lines, a party assaulted those of the Germans, commanded by Colonel Breyman, but either for want of courage, or presence of mind, they, upon the first attack of the enemy, were struck with such a terror, that instead of gallantly sustaining their lines, they looked on all as lost, and after firing one volley, hastily abandoned them; that brave officer, Colonel Breyman, in endeavouring to rally his soldiers, was unfortunately killed. By the enemy's obtaining possession of the German lines, they gained an opening upon our right and rear.

In this engagement we lost many brave officers, to add to the fate of General Fraser, General Burgoyne's Aid-de-Camp, Sir Francis Clerke, was killed, Colonel Ackland wounded and a prisoner, Major Williams, Captain Blomfield, and Lieutenant Howarth, of the artillery, were likewise prisoners, the latter wounded; Major Blomfield's wound was very remarkable, a shot passing through both cheeks, without hurting the inside of his mouth. Your friend Howarth's wound I hear, is in his knee; it is very singular, but he was prepossessed with an idea of being wounded, for when the orders came for the detachment's going out, he was playing picquet with me, and after reading the orders, and that his brigade of guns were to go, he said to me, "God bless you A——, fare well, for I know not

"how it is, but I have strange *presentiment* that I "shall either be killed or wounded." I was rather surprized at such an expression, as he is of a gay and chearful disposition, and cannot but say, that during the little time I could bestow in reflection that day, I continually dwelt upon his remark, but he is now happily in a fair way of recovery.

After Major Ackland was wounded, when he observed the army were retreating, he requested Captain Simpson, of the 31st regiment, who was an intimate friend, to help him into camp, upon which, being a very stout man, he conveyed the Major on his back a considerable way, when the enemy pursuing so rapidly, he was obliged to leave him behind to save himself. As the Major lay on the ground, he cried out to the men who were running by him, that he would give fifty guineas to any soldier who would convey him into camp. A stout grenadier instantly took him on his back, and was hastening into camp, when they were overtaken by the enemy and made prisoners. Here you must naturally conceive what were the feelings of Lady Harriet, who, after hearing the whole of the action, at last received the shock of her individual misfortune, mixed with the general calamity of the defeat.

Whatever favorable opinion the General had entertained of our late encampment, after this attack he thought our flank liable to be turned, and it would be impossible to accomplish an honorable retreat, fearing the only security of the army would consist in an ignominious flight, as our works would

by no means resist cannon-shot. Before we quitted them, we heard the enemy bringing up their artillery, no doubt with a view to attack us at daybreak; therefore, laboring under these apparent disadvantages, we had orders to quit our present situation during the night, and take post upon the heights, above the hospital; by this movement the whole of the army were now assembled upon the heights and plain, of which you have a view in the drawing I sent you.

Our late movement, which was effected without any loss, occasioned the enemy to make a new disposition, and on the 8th of October, the baggage and incumbrances of the army being removed, we offered battle, anxious for a conflict in a plain, where we could discern our enemy, as hitherto all our actions had been in the woods, where it is impossible exactly to prescribe to an army, or separate body, how to govern itself; every different motion of the enemy, and the various accounts a General receives of them, ought to make him alter his measures, and there is no laying down to a commanding officer of any corps, other than general rules, the rest depending on his own conduct, and the behaviour of his troops.

At one time we fully imagined it was the intention of the enemy to have attacked us, as a very large body, consisting of several brigades, drew up in line of battle, with artillery; and began to cannonade us. In return, an howitzer was fired, and, as was intended, the shell fell short, upon which

the enemy setting up a great shout, were very much encouraged, and kept on cannonading. The next time the howitzer was so elevated, that the shell fell into the very center of a large column, and immediately burst, which so dismayed them, that they fled off into the woods, and shewed no other intentions of an attack; indeed their cautious conduct during the whole day strongly marked a disinclination to a general action.

Early on this morning General Fraser breathed his last, and at his particular request, was buried, without any parade, in the great redoubt, by the soldiers of his own corps. About sun-set, the corpse was carried up the hill; the procession was in view of both armies; as it passed by Generals Burgoyne, Phillips and Riedesel, they were struck at the plain simplicity of the parade, being only attended by the officers of his suite; but lest the army, not being acquainted with the privacy that was desired, should construe it into neglect, and urged by a natural wish to pay the last honors to him, in the eyes of the whole army, they joined the procession.

The enemy, with an inhumanity peculiar to Americans, cannonaded the procession as it passed, and during the service over the grave. The account given me by your friend Lieut. Freeman was, that there appeared an expressive mixture of sensibility and indignation upon every countenance — the scene must have been affecting.

In the evening intelligence was brought that the

enemy were marching to turn our right; we could prevent this by no other means than retreating towards Saratoga. A retreat is a matter of the highest consequence, and requires the greatest conduct in a General, as well as resolution in both officers and soldiers, for the least mismanagement puts all into confusion. A good retreat is looked on as the *chef d'œuvre* of a Commander. Every one of the advanced corps felt severely the loss of General Fraser, as he used frequently to say, that if the army had the misfortune to retreat, he would ensure, with the advanced corps, to bring it off in safety; this was a piece of Generalship he was not a little vain of, for during the war in Germany, he made good his retreat with five hundred chasseurs, in sight of the French army. But as covering the retreat of the army was of the utmost consequence, General Phillips took the command of the rear-guard, which consisted of the advanced corps.

At nine o'clock at night the army began to move, General Riedesel commanding the van-guard. Our retreat was made within musquet-shot of the enemy, and though greatly encumbered with baggage, without a single loss. It was near eleven o'clock before the rear-guard marched, and for near an hour, we every moment expected to be attacked, for the enemy had formed on the same spot as in the morning; we could discern this by the lanterns that the officers had in their hands, and their riding about in the front of their line, but though the Americans put their army in motion

that night, they did not pursue us, in our retreat, till late the next day. Deferring the sequel of our misfortunes till another opportunity, and willing to embrace a very favorable one that now presents itself of sending this, I remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XLI

Cambridge, in New England, Nov. 15, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AFTER a march, in which we were liable to be attacked in front, flank and rear, the army, on the 9th, at daybreak, reached an advantageous ground, and took a position very desirable to have received the enemy; we halted to refresh the troops, and to give time for the *batteaux* to come abreast of the army. A few days provision was delivered out, and it was apprehended it might be the last, for though the movement of the army kept pace with the *batteaux*, still there were many parts of the river where they might have been attacked to great advantage, and where the army could afford them little protection.

After the troops had been refreshed, and the *batteaux* came up, the army proceeded forward, in very severe weather, and thro' exceeding bad roads, and late at night arrived at Saratoga, in such a state of fatigue, that the men had not strength or inclination to cut wood and make fires, but rather sought sleep in their wet cloaths and on the wet ground, under a heavy rain that still continued, and which began to fall when we first retreated.

The incessant rain during our retreat was rather a favorable circumstance, for though it impeded the army in their march, and increased its difficul-

ties, it served at the same time to retard, and in a great measure prevented, the pursuit of the enemy; it however occasioned one very unhappy necessity, that of abandoning our hospitals with the sick and wounded: but great praise is due to the humanity of General Gates, for upon the very first intelligence of it, he immediately sent forward a few light horse, to protect them from insult and plunder.

The heavy rain afforded another consolation to the men during the march, which was, in case the enemy had attacked us, the fate of the day would have rested solely upon the bayonet: this idea prevailed so strongly in the minds of the men, that notwithstanding they were acquainted with the superiority of the enemy, an attack seemed to be the wish of every soldier.

When the army were about to move after we halted, the cares and anxieties with which the General, no doubt, must have been surrounded, were greatly increased by a circumstance of private distress, for at this time a message was delivered to him from that amiable woman, Lady Harriet Ackland, expressing an earnest desire, if it did not militate against the General's wishes, of passing to the camp of the enemy, and requesting General Gates's permission to attend her husband, at the same time submitting it entirely to the General's opinion.

The General, although he had been fully convinced of the patience and fortitude with which she had already encountered the many trying situations that had befallen her, could not but express

his astonishment at this proposal, as it appeared an effort beyond human nature, that a woman of such a tender and delicate frame as her's, should be capable of such an undertaking as that of delivering herself to the enemy — probably in the night, and uncertain of what hands she might fall into — especially after so long an agitation of the spirits, not only exhausted by want of rest, but absolutely want of food, and drenched in rains for near twelve hours — and this at a time too, when far advanced in a state where every tender care and precaution becomes absolutely requisite! — In the harrassed and fatigued situation she was in, it was no little chagrin to the General, that he could afford her no assistance to cheer up her spirits for such an undertaking; he had not even a cup of wine to offer her — but from a soldier's wife she obtained a little rum and dirty water! With this poor refreshment she set out in an open boat, which was furnished by the General, with a few lines of recommendation to General Gates, for his protection. The Chaplain that officiated at General Fraser's funeral undertook to accompany her, and with her waiting-maid, and the Major's *valet de chambre* (who then had a ball in his shoulder, which he received in the late action, in searching for the Major after he was wounded) she rowed down the river to meet the enemy. — But to return to the army.

It was not till after day-light, on the morning of the 10th, that the artillery and the last of the troops passed the Fish-Kill, and took position upon

the heights and in the redoubts we had formerly constructed. On our arrival at Saratoga, a corps of the enemy, between five and six hundred, were discovered throwing up intrenchments on the heights, but upon our approach retired over the ford of the Hudson's river, and joined a body posted to oppose our passage there.

A detachment of artificers, under a strong escort, were sent to repair bridges, and open a road on the west side of the river to Fort Edward; but the enemy being strongly posted on the heights of the Fish-Kill, and making a disposition to give us battle, that escort was recalled. The Provincials who were left to cover the artificers, upon a very slight attack ran away, leaving them to escape as they could, without a possibility of their performing any work.

While these different movements were carrying on, the *batteaux* with provisions were frequently fired upon from the opposite side of the river, some of them were lost, and several men killed and wounded in those that remained.

On the 11th the enemy continued the attacks upon the *batteaux*, several were taken and retaken, but their situation being nearer to the main force of the enemy than to ours, it was judged necessary to land the provisions, and send them up the hill, as it was impossible to secure them by any other means: this was effected under a heavy fire, and with the greatest difficulty.

The intentions of the enemy became now very apparent, and no doubt General Gates thought he

should be able to gain more advantage from the situation and circumstances of our army, by cutting off our provisions, and otherwise harrassing and distressing us, by the galling fire of the riflemen, who were every where placed about in the woods, than by giving us battle, and running the chance of a victory.

The possible means of farther retreat were considered in a council of war, composed of the General officers; and the only one that seemed expedient, or in the least practicable, was attended with such danger, as afforded little hopes of success, but nevertheless the resolve was it should be attempted. This was by a night march to Fort Edward, the troops carrying their provisions on their backs, leaving artillery, baggage, and other incumbrances behind, and to force a passage at the ford, either above or below that fort.

While the army were preparing for this bold and resolute undertaking, some scouts returned with intelligence, that the enemy were strongly intrenched opposite those fords, and possessed a camp in force on the high grounds, between Fort Edward and Fort George, with cannon; exclusive of which, they had parties down the whole shore to watch our motions, and some posts so near us, on our side of the water, that it was impossible the army could make the least motion without being discovered.

Notwithstanding the number of the Americans, which was hourly increasing, General Gates acted

with as much precaution as if the superiority was on our side, as the ground where he encamped was, from its nature and the works he had thrown up, inattackable.

Our march to Fort Edward being thus prevented, the army was posted as well as the ground would admit of, fortifying our camp, and preparing for any attempt that the enemy, from our reduced state, might be induced to make.

The state and situation of our army was truly calamitous! — Worn down by a series of incessant toils and stubborn actions; abandoned in our utmost distress by the Indians; weakened by the desertion, and disappointed as to the efficacy of the Canadians and Provincials, by their timidity; the regular troops reduced, by the late heavy losses of many of our best men and distinguished officers, to only 3500 effective men, of which number there were not quite 2000 British: — in this state of weakness, no possibility of retreat, our provisions nearly exhausted, and invested by an army of four times our number, that almost encircled us, who would not attack us from a knowledge of our situation, and whose works could not be assaulted in any part. In this perilous situation the men lay continually upon their arms, the enemy incessantly cannonading us, and their rifle and cannon shot reaching every part of our camp.

True courage submits with great difficulty to despair, and in the midst of all those dangers and arduous trials, the valor and constancy of the British

troops were astonishing: they still retained their spirits, in hopes that either the long-expected relief would arrive from New-York, which the army implicitly believed, from an order that had been given out at our camp at Still-Water, stating that powerful armies were to act in co-operation with ours, or that the enemy would attack us, which was most fervently wished for, as it would have given us an opportunity of dying gallantly, or extricating ourselves with honor.

After waiting the whole of the 13th day of October, in anxious expectation of what it would produce, and to which time it had been resolved to endure all extremities in maintaining our ground against the enemy — no prospect of assistance appearing, and no rational ground of hope remaining, it was thought proper, in the evening, to take an exact account of the provisions left, which amounted to no more than three days short allowance.

In this state of distress, a council of war was called, to which all the Generals, Field-officers, and commanding-officers of corps were summoned, when it was unanimously agreed, that in the present circumstances we could do no other than treat with the enemy.

Overtures were accordingly proposed to General Gates, who harshly rejected them, reminding us of our enervated state, from a toilsome campaign, diminished numbers, scanty subsistence, and the impossibility of fresh supply. These reasons were urged on the spur of the moment, minute consider-

ation denied, and a decisive answer required. We felt their force, but compliance was never thought of, it would have too severely wounded the dignity of our military character.

The refusal of our overtures was mortifying in the extreme, yet instead of depressing, it raised our magnanimity; the interval of suspence, indeed, disturbed our repose; anxiety was awake to consequences — still we adhered to our purpose with manly firmness. A state of suspence, to a reflecting mind, is worse than death; that was our state till the convention was finally adjusted.

The obstacles to the accomplishment of the convention at first appeared insurmountable, for General Gates conceived that our complicated embarrassments sufficiently justified him, according to the rules of war, in insisting on an unconditional surrender of the army: they were disdainfully rejected, and he was peremptorily informed, that notwithstanding our reduced numbers, if he still persisted, our final appeal should be to the sword, as the British troops would rush upon the enemy, determined to give no quarter.

General Gates, from having been once in our service, was fully convinced of what exertions British troops were capable, in any dangerous emergency; he was therefore quickly sensible of the impolicy of coercion, and with very great prudence declined hazarding a fresh conflict with men who preferred death to a disgraceful submission. Awed by our firmness, he retracted his demands, and honorable

terms were granted; the particulars, as they are undoubtedly in the Gazette, I shall of course pass over.

To a reverse of fortune we yielded with becoming dignity, but our honor was safe, and equanimity of temper marked our character, even in adversity.

General Burgoyne has done every thing in this convention for the good of the troops, consistent with the service of his King and country: all that wisdom, valor, and a strict sense of honor could suggest. Confident, no doubt, of having exerted himself with indefatigable spirit in their service, he will despise popular clamor, truly sensible that no perfect and unbiassed judge of actual service can condemn him. Addison has somewhere observed,

" 'Tis not in mortals to command success!"

And as the populace, in this versatile age startle at untoward events, so our General is liable to be exposed to public censure. Ample justice must raise him in the mind of every liberal man who will judge with caution, acquit him with honor, and take him to his heart as the soldier's friend — as a man of cool judgment, but ardent for glory — as courageous but unfortunate!

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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